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A HISTORY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

By

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PREFACE

This book may be described as an attempt to answer the question, "Who are we and how did we come to be here?" In the belief that, *in history*, the political boundaries of southern Africa are largely artificial and that the sharp social divisions between people of different colours are not reflected so sharply in the economic and political sphere, the writer has tried to survey the whole history of all the people in the sub-continent.

As the book is designed for use in European schools in Southern Rhodesia there is a great disproportion between those chapters which deal with South Africa and those which deal with Southern Rhodesia. While the history of South Africa is treated in broad outline and with little special reference to the separate parts of South Africa, the history of Southern Rhodesia is comparatively detailed. One reason for this is the need for material easily available in schools for more advanced study of Rhodesian history than has hitherto been customary. The author regrets that limitations of space have precluded more than passing references to the more recent history of Portuguese East Africa and of South West Africa.

The Use of the Book. While the book has been prepared for the use of an average Form III, it is probable that the later, more detailed chapters will be found suitable for Form IV work and that, with careful selection, the book can also be used in Form II or even Form I. It is not recommended for Junior Schools.

The chapters are divided into sections entitled *Survey* and *Supplement*. The Surveys are the more important and the more difficult. Read consecutively, the Surveys of the whole book form a complete history. The Supplements mostly contain narrative and descriptive material and are, in a sense, enlargements of their chapters. They are suitable for private reading by pupils and need little explanation. It would be possible with a lower Form to use the Supplements as the principal material and link them with bare summaries of the Surveys. In some chapters the Supplements are dispersed throughout and in others they are placed at the end to avoid an interruption of the argument of the chapter. In the Exercises and Test Questions, those marked 'A' refer to the Survey sections and those marked 'B' to the Supplement sections.

The Date Lists and suggestions for Time Charts call for no comment. The Exercises contain a variety of work and, it is hoped, will cater for many tastes. Attention is called to the Problems in some chapters; they should be set before the chapter is read. Easy as they are, they do provoke thought. While the Exercises

are devised partly for testing purposes, partly for the stirring of the imagination and partly for an introduction to methods of research, the Test Questions are simply a convenient means of rapidly testing the thoroughness of private reading.

The Book Lists are, of course, far from exhaustive. They do, however, indicate the sources of much of the material in their chapters and should be of some assistance in building up a small African section of the History library and in encouraging wider reading by more advanced pupils. The purpose of the Source Readings is mainly to show the nature and variety of source material but, in some cases, the extracts quoted have very considerable intrinsic historical interest as well.

There is also a list of references at the back of the book which gives the sources of quotations spread throughout the text and distinguished by index figures.

The Cartoon Pictures illustrate some of the most important arguments in their chapters ; while they do not pretend to ruthless historical accuracy of detail, they do attempt to recapture something of the significance of their historical context.

It is suggested that full and frequent use be made of the Index and that exercises be devised for practice in the use of Indexes generally.

Note on Spelling of Names. As far as possible the usual present day spelling of African names has been followed (except, of course, in the Source Readings). In the spelling of names of tribes, the prefix has been omitted except in a few cases where the name with the prefix has become very familiar by usage, e.g., Basuto.

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SALISBURY, 1949.

H. E. P.

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CHAPTER ONE

BUSHMEN, HOTTENTOTS AND BANTU

Southern Africa has been the home of human beings for many thousands of years. Scattered over it—in caves, in river valleys, on the tops of hills—are traces of many different peoples. We do not know much of the earliest people; they lived their lives and died out. We know something about a negroid people, the Bergdama, who survived into historic times. But the earliest people of whose life we can know much are the Bushmen.

Survey

THE BUSHMEN

A very long time ago, possibly two thousand years, the Bushmen began to appear in southern Africa. They came from northern Africa, driven out by stronger people, and moved southwards along the more open grasslands of the eastern mountainous regions. They spread over southern Africa and for hundreds of years they were wandering about the country between the Zambesi and the south coast.

The Bushmen were yellow-skinned people about five feet high and they dressed in skins. They were hunters and collectors, that is, they lived on food which they had killed, picked or dug up; they never kept any animals or grew any crops. As they wandered about, following the game, they had no fixed homes. They made very rough huts of dried bushes or reed mats and where there were caves they lived in these. This gave them the chance of painting on the walls and they were good at this: their paintings are lively and vivid, sometimes of dances or raids, but most often of wild animals. Many have survived the centuries and can be found in caves in many parts of southern Africa. Another thing they enjoyed very much was dancing; often the dance was a masquerade and the Bushmen were very good mimics, they had several kinds of musical instruments, mostly bows to be twanged.

A people as simple and backward as this can live provided that they can find food and provided that there is no stronger people in their land. For hundreds of years the Bushmen did live in southern Africa; nobody bothered them because there was nobody to bother them. The arrival of other peoples, the Hottentots, the Bantu and the Europeans, was a severe disaster for them. In fact, the Bushmen have been almost completely wiped out,

either by being killed or by being absorbed by the stronger peoples. Of the original Cape Bushmen there are only a few individuals left. Most of the others are in the northern parts of Bechuanaland and S.W. Africa and there are a few in the western parts of S. Rhodesia and in Angola. It is estimated that there are about 7,500 altogether.

Supplement

THE BUSHMEN

Appearance. The Bushmen had slender limbs and small hands and feet, but were often ugly on account of the large stomachs of the men and the fat buttocks and thighs of the women. Their hair was short, woolly and thin and their heads small and broad with prominent cheekbones and flat noses. The men wore a triangular piece of skin drawn between the legs and tied round the waist; the women wore skin aprons in front and behind. Both often wore karosses and women wore chains of ostrich egg-shell beads; on special occasions the women painted their faces with black and red paint. The Bushmen did not wash at all, but they smeared fat on themselves and applied a powder made of sweet-smelling roots.



Food. They ate meat when they had it and gathered roots and berries in the veld. When they could not get meat they ate ant-bears, tortoises, porcupines, frogs, snakes, lizards, locusts, scorpions, beetles, flying ants and ants' eggs. When there was plenty of meat they ate all they could at once and saved none of it. Hunting was, of course, their chief occupation and was the work of men; they used bows and poisoned arrows, throwing-sticks and spears and they set traps and pitfalls. The points of spears and arrows were usually made of bone as they had no metal. The women dug for roots with pointed sticks weighted with stones and sometimes tipped with a buck's horn. They also had to gather firewood and fetch water in a bag made of a buck's stomach. They made fire by rubbing sticks together and cooked with crude clay pots and big stones.

Tribes. There were Bushman tribes, but they were very loosely organised; the real unit was the hunting band of fifty to a hundred people. The affairs of the band were controlled by the best hunters and the older men, though some had regular chiefs. Generally speaking, however, the grown-up Bushman could do as he liked as long as he kept

the known customs and laws. Each band considered that it owned a particular piece of land within which it wandered; anyone else coming into it was driven away or killed. What really mattered were the water-holes, and the game that came to a band's water-holes was thought to be reserved for that band; their camps were near the water-holes but not so near that game would be scared away. The band was divided into families and a man could have more than one wife, though this was not common. In many tribes, a man had to get a wife from some band other than his own. Children had to be initiated at the age of about twelve; there were ceremonies for this and the boys were taught the lore and dances of their tribe. They also had to undergo a strenuous hunting test and have the tribal marks cut on their foreheads by the magicians.

Religion. Little is known about the religion of the Bushmen, except that they prayed to the moon and the stars; they believed in the ghosts of the dead and were frightened of them. They believed in some kind of a god to whom they prayed for rain and food. Of course there were magicians who were supposed to be able to talk to the ghosts and cure the illnesses they caused, but they were not looked upon as more important than the rest of the people.

Survey

THE HOTTENTOTS

The Hottentots, like the Bushmen, moved into the country from the north; it is thought that they came from the region of the Great Lakes of East Africa and, driven on by stronger peoples, crossed Africa until they reached the Atlantic Ocean. Then they turned south down the west coast until they reached the Cape Peninsula and moved east about as far as the Kei River, where they met the Bantu, who drove them back and mixed with them. As they moved, groups of them stayed behind and became separate tribes; it was these tribes which lived among the Bushmen and drove them out of the good land into the barren mountains. It is not known exactly when the Hottentots arrived in southern Africa; it is thought to be about 900 A.D.

The Hottentots were definitely a more advanced people than the Bushmen. In the first place they kept cattle and sheep, which the Bushmen never did; they also smelted iron and copper and made good wooden pots, mats and baskets, while the Bushman manufactures were very crude. The Hottentots were rather like the Bushmen in their general build, but they were taller; they had the same yellow skin, prominent cheekbones, flat noses and narrow slanting eyes. They wore skin clothes, too, but rather more elaborate ones; the men wore a hide loincloth with a small

kaross and the women an ornamented skin apron with a larger kaross. Both sexes wore ivory and copper ornaments and smeared their bodies with ochre and fat, which made them smell very strongly. Their chief food was milk which they drank sour; they also ate wild roots and wild animals. They did not often eat their cattle except on festive occasions or when the cattle died. They used cattle for riding and carrying loads.

As they had to find new pastures frequently, they wandered about, but not so much as the Bushmen. Their camps were therefore more permanent; the huts were built in circles inside a thorn fence and cattle and sheep were brought in at night. Their huts were much better than the dwellings of the Bushmen; they were of beehive shape and made of sticks and rushes with floors smeared with cow-dung and blood. There was one thing that the Bushmen did which the Hottentots could not do, and that was painting and engraving on rock.

In the end the Hottentots suffered the same fate as the Bushmen at the hands of stronger people. As a separate people they almost disappeared and most of their descendants became merged with slaves and others to form the people known as the Cape Coloured, though there are some groups in S.W. Africa which are mainly Hottentot by origin.

Supplement

THE HOTTENTOTS

Tribal Organisation. The Hottentot tribes were quite small; they did not usually number more than two thousand people and were really loose collections of clans. One of the clans was the senior and the head of that was the chief of the tribe; he did not usually have much power and was unable to prevent clans fighting each other, as they sometimes did, for blood vengeance or jealousy. He had to consult the heads of the clans and could not do much without their help. Each tribe had its own piece of land for pasture and hunting and strangers could not use it without permission. Boundaries were not clearly marked but the tribes lived well apart from each other and had certain centres around which they moved. All the same there *were* fights for land between tribes; then the loser had to move on somewhere else.

Religion. The Hottentots believed in certain supernatural personages roughly representing good and evil, the good being thought of particularly as *rain*. They also had a sort of tribal hero who was said to have lived on earth and died and risen again many times. They worshipped the moon and celebrated the full moon with dancing and merrymaking. They had magicians and believed very strongly in omens, amulets and magic. Like the Bushmen, the Hottentots were afraid of the

ghosts of the dead.

Some Hottentot Customs. Marriages were arranged by the parents of the couple; the girl's parents were expected to pretend not to want her to marry and only to give way after being persuaded by the boy's parents. A man could have more than one wife, but this was not common.

A man had to be very polite to his mother-in-law and look away when he spoke to her.

Brothers and sisters, when they were grown up, had to avoid each other completely.

A man had to treat his father's sister with great respect, but could do what he liked with his mother's brother, even to taking good cattle in exchange for bad.

The Hottentots did not wash; they applied moist cow-dung to themselves and peeled it off when it was dry.

Tall Stories. Some of the early writers about the Hottentots had some very queer ideas. For instance, Wilhelm Ten Rhyne, writing in 1686, says that children started smoking at four months and could walk at eight months; while Tavernier, a Frenchman who wrote in 1676, says that Hottentot mothers gave their babies sea-water to drink and tobacco to eat as soon as they were born !

Survey

THE BANTU

So far we have been thinking about two races which drifted into southern Africa from the north, wandered about for some time and then more or less died out. Now we must turn our attention to a third people who also entered southern Africa from the north and also wandered about it for a time, but did not die out. These people were the Bantu,* a finer people, more numerous, better organised and much more advanced in their ways than either Bushmen or Hottentots. They are the people who are now generally known as Africans or Natives and they share southern Africa with the Europeans.

It is very difficult to be certain about their early history because they could not write and they did not paint on rock, so they left very few traces of their wanderings. What we do know comes from their stories, often unreliable, and from their languages and customs which tell us a little. We know more about their history in and after the sixteenth century A.D., because then they first met Europeans who wrote about them.

History. The Bantu came originally from North East Africa and, from about the sixth century A.D. onwards, they moved south in groups at different times. Why they moved we cannot say for certain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the first cause was the

*The word 'Bantu' means 'people': we apply it to this African race.

need for more land and that other causes were the arrival of other peoples in their land, quarrels amongst themselves and later, perhaps, the slave raiding of the Arabs. The first group crossed the Zambesi in the eighth or ninth century and settled in what is now Southern Rhodesia.* The later groups pushed through and round the first and found their way into what are now S. W. Africa, Bechuanaland, the Transvaal and Natal, most of them arriving there between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. From Natal, tribes began to move along the coast into what is now the Eastern Province of the Cape Province until they met, first, the Hottentots whom they drove back or absorbed and, secondly, the Europeans who brought their movement to a halt. Thus they never reached the south-western corner of Africa (i.e. the greater part of the Cape Province). When the Bantu first crossed the Zambesi they found Bushmen and Tonga wandering about over the country and, being a stronger people, they drove out or killed the Bushmen and absorbed the Tonga. A weaker people is *absorbed* by a stronger people when the stronger kill off or enslave the men and marry the women. The result is that the stronger, while keeping its own way of life in a general way, shows distinct signs of the weaker in its language, customs and appearance. An example is that the clicks which are a feature of the Bushman and Hottentot languages are found in the languages of the Bantu tribes which did actually meet and absorb Hottentots. When the Bantu met the Europeans, they found themselves up against a people stronger than themselves, that is, more advanced in their way of life, but not strong enough to drive them out altogether and not wanting to absorb them. Eventually, the Europeans conquered them and ruled them and there are no Bantu people independent of Europeans. Their way of life was, of course, much affected by the European way of life, a process which is still going on and likely to go a good deal further.

The following description of the Bantu way of life refers to the way they lived before their customs and ideas began to be changed by contact with Europeans, but much of this way of life still goes on, particularly in the parts of southern Africa which were occupied by Europeans only fairly recently, e.g., Southern Rhodesia.

Tribal Organisation. The Bantu were divided into tribes varying in number from a few hundred to as many as fifty thousand. Each tribe was more or less completely independent and had a chief at its head.† The chief was very important; he was the tribe's leader in war, its principal judge and he had a part to play in the religion and magic of the tribe. His orders had to be obeyed, but he usually took the advice of his indunas and councils. In any case, if he was not a good chief the tribesmen could and did desert him. The importance of chiefs in the Bantu tribes is most

*There is reason to believe that another people, the Tonga, came into southern Africa about 500 A.D. See Appendix to this chapter, page 18.

†For exceptions to this, see Supplement on the Bantu, page 8.

clearly shown by the fact that if a royal family was wiped out its tribe ceased to exist as a separate tribe.

Next to its chief, the things that really mattered to a Bantu tribe were its land and its cattle, but particularly its land. This belonged to the tribe as a whole and not even the chief could give it away or sell it to anyone else. The boundaries of a tribe's land were sometimes vague and might overlap the boundaries of the next tribe's land, sometimes tribes became interlocked and there were fierce quarrels, resulting in the loser having to give up the disputed land. A tribesman who broke in land for cultivation had the right to use it for ever, together with the piece of land on which his kraal was built. On the rest of the land all the tribesmen grazed their cattle or hunted. The difference between this way of owning land and the European way, where a man holds a piece of land by himself and for himself, led to many quarrels. If a chief 'sold' land to a European, he was simply allowing him to run his cattle on it and, in the chief's eyes, the European became a kind of tenant; the European, on the other hand, thought of the land as his and only his.

Cattle. Cattle were the pride and joy of the Bantu; cattle were wealth to be captured in war or paid to the chief as fines or given to the father of the girl by the young man who wanted to marry; cattle provided food and clothes and their dung served for fuel and cement; cattle carried burdens and were raced; cattle were used for sacrifices and foretelling the future and sometimes were worshipped; certain hairs of the tails of cattle were used for medicine. No attention was paid to quality; a bad beast was as valuable as a good one, just as a new pound note is worth no more than an old and ragged one. Although in some tribes the cattle were all thought of as belonging to the chief, more usually each family had its own and the care of the animals was the work of the men of the family. Women were not allowed to have anything to do with cattle; they had to hoe the soil and tend the crops. Although the Bantu had great regard for cattle, their principal food was a kind of thick porridge made from millet (Kaffir corn), vegetables, game meat and sour milk. They only ate cattle when they died and they did not start eating mealies until after the Portuguese brought maize from South America.

At heart, the Bantu were, and in their natural state still are, peasant farmers living self-contained, independent lives. Generally they were not warlike unless they needed more land or had to defend their own. It was exactly for this reason that they resisted the advance of the Europeans. How they did this and how the Europeans eventually occupied their land and began to draw them into the European way of living forms a very great part of the story of southern Africa.

Supplement

THE BANTU

Tribal Organisation. The number of men belonging to any one tribe changed a good deal from time to time because, if men did not like the chief or quarrelled with him, they left the tribe; sometimes whole sections of tribes broke away and became separate tribes. Usually a man belonged to the same tribe as his father, but what really made him a member of the tribe was not so much the fact that he had been born into it as the fact that he admitted that he was a subject of its chief. The chief and the tribe could not exist without each other and a chief who said, "I am the tribe," would be speaking even more truly than Louis XIV when he said, "I am the State."

Large tribes had lesser chiefs in charge of sections of the tribe; in this case the chief of the whole tribe is described as the *paramount* chief. From time to time there were Bantu 'nations' which were conglomerations of tribes owing allegiance to one powerful overlord, but these were apt to be weak and short-lived as it was difficult for the overlord to keep control over many tribes.

The chief usually had an inner private council to advise him; this would be composed of relatives, sub-chiefs and friends. There would also be a larger more official tribal council. The indunas were the chief advisers and were highly trained, experienced officials, not members of the royal family. Chiefs were usually very rich in cattle, but they were expected to be generous too; a mean chief would soon find his followers deserting him. A chief was supposed to be the best magician in his tribe; he was supposed to be able to 'make rain' and failure in this was another reason for the tribesmen leaving him. Thus, although chiefs had very great powers, they also had enough checks on their power and it was unusual for a Bantu chief to become an overbearing tyrant.

Justice. The chief, with his councillors, judged serious offences like witchcraft or the murder of a tribesman. In the case of lesser offences, like theft, the injured party could prosecute or not as he liked; if he did, the case would be decided by the head of the household or the local sub-chief and would only come before the chief if they could not settle it satisfactorily. The punishments were fines (in cattle), flogging or death. Imprisonment was, of course, impossible among a people who lived in mud and thatch huts. The laws of a tribe were fixed and could only be changed after

much discussion; there was no writing, so they had to be remembered by the older men and it was for this reason that oratory and eloquence were much prized accomplishments among the Bantu. Actually, there was no crime in the strict sense of offences against the State, except offences against the chief or his family. Even murder was considered an offence against the family of the murdered person and it was the business of this family to take action against the murderer. The tribal authorities might be called in but it was not their business to punish the wrongdoer until they were approached by the victim's family. To the European way of thinking, all justice was 'civil' and not 'criminal' except when it concerned the chief directly.

Families. The smallest separate group in the tribe was the family, consisting of a man, his wife or wives and children and any other relatives depending on him. Each family grew its own food, usually had its own cattle and made most of its own domestic articles; men and women built huts, men only made skin clothes and wooden utensils and women only made baskets and clay pots. Iron things, however, such as hoes, spears and axes, were made by special smiths who exchanged them for cattle and grain. In some tribes and at some periods the families lived in separate kraals, scattered all over the place, while often several families lived in a village or even a quite large town. Even in this case each family had a separate enclosure. It was quite common to have the cattle pen in the middle and arrange the huts regularly round it—a hut for each wife and her children and a few others for older boys and girls, relatives and visitors.

Marriage. A man was allowed to have more than one wife, though by no means all of them did. The marriage was not a proper lawful marriage until the husband-to-be had given some cattle to the father of the bride; this is called *lobola* and the custom was definitely *not* 'buying a wife,' as Europeans used to think. There may have been some idea of compensating the girl's family for the loss of her services and company, but really the payment of *lobola* made the husband guardian of the children of the marriage; without it the children would belong to their mother's family. Also, it secured good treatment of the wife; if she ran away to her parents and could show that her husband ill-treated her, the *lobola* would not be returned.

If there was more than one wife the first one was the chief wife and her eldest son eventually became the head of

the household. A chief sometimes married the daughter of another chief and then she would be the 'great wife' and her son would eventually become chief. This sometimes led to civil war, as the sons of the other wives had been passed over and they did not like this; furthermore, as the 'great wife' might be married late in the chief's life, her son might still be a child when the chief died; then there would be quarrels about who was to be regent and the grown-up sons of other wives might try to seize the chieftainship.

Religion and Magic. The Bantu had great respect for the spirits of their ancestors and called on them for help on family occasions such as birth, marriage or sickness; nor did they forget them in their ordinary daily life. Each family had an ancestral altar—it might be a tree or a stone—at which sacrifices of goats, fowls, etc. would be made. The chief's ancestors were thought to be interested in the whole tribe and one of the important things a chief had to do was to show he was in accord with his ancestors' spirits for the benefit of the tribe. The Bantu also had a rather vague idea of another great spiritual power in the universe; they connected this power with the sky and thought of rain, thunder and lightning as having something to do with it. Although they did not *usually* worry so much about this power as about the spirits of their ancestors, there were some tribes whose religion was more highly developed. An example is the Karanga worship of Mwari, which has its centre in the Matopos Hills.

A third branch of Bantu belief can be described as devil-worship; it shows itself in 'possession' by wandering spirits, sometimes those of animals; it was and is a debasing superstition. Magic, the belief that by spells, etc., the forces of nature could be made to work for man, played a great part in the lives of the Bantu. Certain people were thought to have special magical powers and their help in healing sickness, etc., was much sought after. Witchcraft, the use of magical powers to do harm, was one of the things most feared by the Bantu and anyone thought to be guilty of it was immediately put to death by the order of the chief. If there was too much sickness or the cattle mysteriously died or the crops withered for no apparent reason, then witchcraft was suspected and it became the business of the chief's 'witch-doctor' to find the witch; this he did by an elaborate ceremony of 'smelling out.' Sometimes the chief told the witch-doctor beforehand to 'smell out' a particular person who was getting too rich

and powerful, but as a rule there was no deliberate injustice and there is no doubt that the Bantu were genuinely terrified of witchcraft. In this, they were no different from the ignorant European peasants of three hundred years ago.

Other Customs. There were very definite social distinctions based on sex and age. Women were considered lesser creatures than men and a woman was never her own mistress. Children were taught from earliest childhood to respect and obey their elders. Children were initiated at about the age of twelve; boys had to go through most rigorous tests of strength and endurance, including hunting tests and floggings; groups of boys who had been initiated together were given special names and had special duties to perform for the chief. Among the Zulu, boys of the same age were formed into regiments. This kind of education may seem crude, but it was little more than the finishing touch to the 'learning by experience' that went on in their daily lives and it taught strength, courage and endurance, necessary virtues in the life of a Bantu tribesman.

When they went to war, the Bantu were armed with spears (assegais), knobkerries and ox-hide shields; some of the inland tribes also used bows and battle-axes, but the bow was not a typical Bantu weapon. The Bantu were a cheerful and sociable people; they drank beer together on all sorts of occasions, they loved dancing and they were particularly fond of telling stories and asking each other riddles. They had a host of songs and fables, mostly about animals and their tricks.* They had many kinds of musical instruments: drums, pipes, bows, rattles, horn trumpets and even a kind of primitive piano.

A Day in the Life of a Bantu Family. They rise at dawn, dress and open up the hut; the women wash and see that there is water for the men to wash; then they go out to fetch wood and more water. Meanwhile, the older men sit outside in the sun, giving orders to the younger men about what is to be done during the day. The young men and boys drive the cattle out to pasture or do other jobs, while any women and girls that have not gone out sweep the huts and look after the children. Then the older men go off to the council-place, where they spend most of the day. Towards the middle of the morning the women return with wood and water and begin to prepare the morning meal of porridge, with perhaps some relishes. About ten or eleven o'clock the food is ready and is ladled out into wooden bowls and eaten; the women

*We have many of these stories collected in the Brer Rabbit tales and the stories of Kalulu the Hare.

and children eat theirs at home while the young women take food, and water for washing the hands, to the people out at work and to the men in the council-place. Boys who have gone a long way with the cattle may have a few scraps before they start and nothing more until evening.

The men in the council-place spend most of their time talking and doing odd jobs such as braying skins and carving things. They sit scattered about on the ground or on stools chatting idly, unless something important happens, when they sit up politely and take part in the proceedings. If a visitor arrives he has several spokesmen who announce him to a messenger on the outskirts of the village; the messenger then goes to the council-place and soon returns inviting the visitor and his men to accompany him. When they arrive at the council-place, the visitors sit on the outskirts of the group; there is a short silence and then the senior man asks after the visitor's health, the word being passed from mouth to mouth until it reaches the visitor who replies in like manner. After a time fewer and fewer spokesmen are used until finally the senior man and the visitor actually talk to each other. When it is time for the visitor to depart they go through the same elaborate procedure again.

After the morning meal, most of the women go off to the lands, where they stay until late afternoon weeding, hoeing, sowing, reaping, etc. A few stay behind to look after the home and small children, to make pots or to prepare beer.

The late afternoon is bathing time; older and younger people, men and women, have their own appointed bathing places. It is also the time for beer drinking in the council-place. Some of the men may wander off to visit friends or to go to a regular beer party somewhere else in the neighbourhood. The women come back from the fields and relax a little, going out for a visit and a gossip and perhaps drinking some beer, too. Later still the youths and boys who have been out all day begin to come back and the older men go and inspect the cattle, after which the evening milking is done.

By this time the women will have started preparing the evening meal which is more substantial than the morning meal, as it consists of porridge with some meat or relishing sauce. The evening meal is a family affair and everybody is at home for it. Each one has a separate bowl of porridge and the meat and sauce are put in common dishes.

After the evening meal, the family sit round the fires,

men and older boys in one group, women and children in another. Tales are told, riddles and jokes exchanged and young people may dance. When night falls they begin to go to bed as sleep overtakes them; some of the men have a last look at the cattle in the kraal, the women see that the fires are dead, the courtyard entrances are barred, the huts are shut up tight to keep out marauders and evil spirits, mats and headrests are put out and everybody goes to sleep.

Survey

CONCLUSION

The foregoing account of Bantu life shows it as it was when Europeans first met Bantu tribes; it is unlikely that it had changed much in hundreds of years before. It has not changed much since, *except* where the Bantu have been in close contact with Europeans.

We must picture, then, southern Africa before the Europeans came, thinly inhabited by restless people, Bushmen for ever wandering in search of game and roots, Hottentots humping their huts about seeking fresh pastures, and Bantu, more vigorous and better organised than either, settling and growing their corn in one spot for generations but always, in the course of time, forced to move on. We must picture these people ever moving southward in shifting processions into the great blind alley of southern Africa, there perhaps to be killed off by their stronger neighbours or to be driven into the deserts and mountains and in the end to meet a stronger people than any of them. This was southern Africa when the Portuguese landed in the east and when the Dutch, more than a century later, began their settlement in the south-west

SOURCE READINGS

1. *Hottentot Eating Habits*

Their manner of eating marks the voracity of their appetite. Having cut from the animal a large steak, they enter one edge with the knife, and passing it round in a spiral manner till they come to the middle, they produce a string of meat two or three yards in length. The whole animal is presently cut into such strings; and while some are employed in this business, and in suspending them on the branches of the shrubbery, others are broiling the strings coiled round and laid upon the ashes. When the meat is just warmed through they grasp it in both hands, and applying one end of the string to the mouth, soon get through a yard of flesh. The ashes of the green wood that adhere to the meat serve as a substitute for salt. As soon as a string of meat has passed through their hands, they are cleaned by rubbing over different parts of their body. Grease thus applied from time to time, and accumulating perhaps for a whole year, sometimes melting by the side of a large fire and catching up dust and dirt,

covers at length the surface of the body with a thick black coating that entirely conceals the real natural colour of the skin. This is discoverable only on the face and hands, which they keep somewhat cleaner than the other parts of the body by rubbing them with the dung of cattle. This takes up the grease upon which water would have no effect.

From 'Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the years 1797 and 1798' by John Barrow (published in 1801).

2. Witchcraft

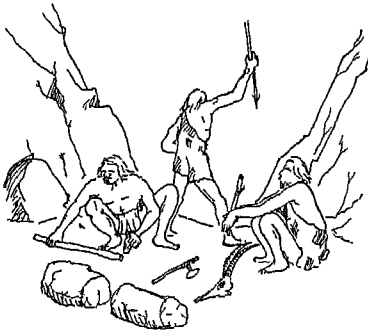
(as told the author in the words of a Natal native)

'When death occurs in a family some one goes to inquire of the priest. Many people go to form an investigating commission. An animal is provided in order to bring a multitude together on the commission. The priest comes and performs his incantations in the midst of them, and says, smite ye, that I may hear, my friends. All the people speak, as they are sitting down around him, and say, Attention! Silence! He says, smite ye, my friends; they all speak and say, Attention! Silence! And thus he smolls out the person among them, and says, I myself think you are wasted by this so and so (pointing out a person). This man stoutly denies, saying, No, I never touched poison with these hands of my father; neither have I the least knowledge of it; neither was poison ever known among my people. Come, for I will appeal, and be heard by another priest.

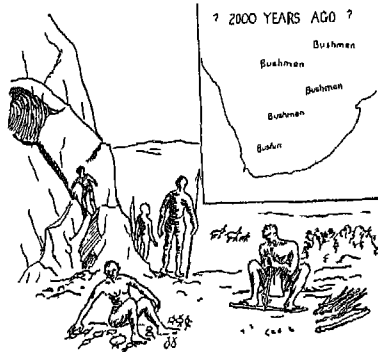
Another, perhaps, they kill. Another, perhaps, they watch, and just say nothing; and at another time, in the night, they see him walking about their home, the people being asleep, he having come from his own kraal; they see him walking about in the night behind their houses, wishing to jump over the fence of the kraal, and flee, and hide. But perhaps they catch him as he is jumping over the fence; they bind him in the night; they ask him, What do you want here? Do you wish to kill us? They heat some water to the boiling point. Some sharpen sticks; while others take the boiling water and a horn.' (The rest of this account is too inhuman to be translated. Suffice to say that the man does not survive their cruelty.)

From 'Zululand or Life Among the Zulu-Kafirs of Natal and Zulu-land, South Africa,' by the Rev. Lewis Grout (published in 1862).

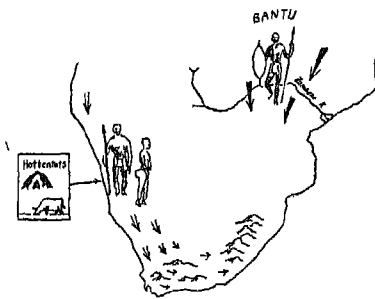
BUSHMEN, HOTTENTOTS AND BANTU



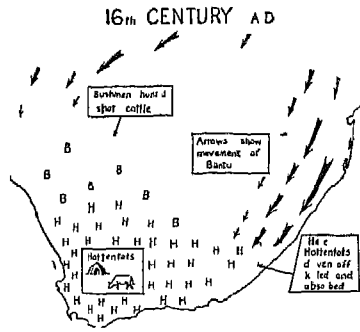
Prehistoric Man in Southern Africa



Bushmen in Southern Africa



Hottentots come to Southern Africa



Bantu come into South Africa in large numbers

IMPORTANT DATES

(NB—These dates are necessarily not exact)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Perhaps 2,000 years ago | Bushmen began to come into southern Africa. |
| About 6th Century A.D. | Bantu tribes began to move from N.E. Africa |
| About 8th or 9th Century A.D. | Bantu tribes began to cross the Zambesi |
| About 10th Century A.D. | Hottentots moving into southern Africa. |
| About 13th Century | Rise of Butwa-Torwa. |
| 15th Century | Karanga invasion of Butwa-Torwa. |

- 16th Century Large migration of Bantu into Natal, Transvaal, Bechuanaland and S.W. Africa.
 Portuguese arrived in East Africa.
 About 1750 Bantu came into full contact with Europeans in the Cape Colony.

TIME CHART

Make a Time Chart in two columns. Write down the above events in the left hand column. In the right hand column write down important events which happened in the rest of the world at about the same dates.

EXERCISES

1. Study the picture diagram on p. 15. Make up another one to illustrate the same things.
2. Make a chart with three columns, headed Bushmen, Hottentots and Bantu respectively. Write down under each heading the things you know about the lives of each, keeping the same things on the same line. E.g.:

Bushmen

Hottentots

Bantu

—

Kept cattle

Kept cattle

—

—

Agriculture

Painting

3. If there are any Bushman paintings in caves near where you live, make copies of them. If there are plenty, make a class album of Bushman paintings.
4. Imagine yourself to be a traveller meeting Hottentots for the first time. Describe your experiences in your diary.
5. You are one of the Bantu, taken as a slave and sold to a kind master who taught you to write English. Write an article for a magazine entitled 'Memories of My Childhood.'
6. Write an essay on: European influence on the Bantu way of life.
7. In what way was the Bantu way of life (a) like and (b) unlike the way of life of European peasants of the Middle Ages?
8. **Problems** (to be attempted *before* reading Chapter I):
 - (a) What is the only way in which cattle-keeping people can survive when there are too many cattle for the pasture?
 - (b) What is likely to happen when a strong, advanced people on the move meets a weak, backward people?

A.

TEST QUESTIONS

1. Give the meaning of the following words:—masquerade, mimic, smelt, kaross, ochre, unreliable, absorb, independent, dispute, sacrifice.
2. How did the Bushmen obtain their food?
3. What could the Bushmen do which the Hottentots and Bantu could not?
4. Are there any Bushmen left? If so, where?
5. In what ways were Hottentots more advanced than Bushmen?
6. Why did the Hottentots wander about?

were the Chwana who probably moved through Butwa-Torwa at the time of the Karanga invasion (fifteenth century) and reached the region of the western Transvaal and Bechuanaland, where their descendants still live. At about the same time the Venda, a tribe of the northern Transvaal with distinctive cultural features, moved into Butwa-Torwa, eventually crossing the Limpopo in the seventeenth century.

The Nguni. This name is applied in a general way to the people who moved into the extreme south east (Natal and the eastern Cape Province). Early inhabitants of this area were probably Tonga and Bantu were moving in as early as the fifteenth century. Their numbers were increased early in the seventeenth century, by arrivals of Mbo and Zimba, a fierce migrating people, said to have been cannibals, who were terrorising the country north of the Zambesi about the end of the sixteenth century. Such famous tribes as the Zulu and Xosa belonged to the Nguni group.

The South Western Group. In the sixteenth century Bantu tribes, including a branch of the Mbo, followed another migration route and entered what are now Angola and South West Africa. Their descendants are still called Mbo (Ovambo) and Herero.

The Migration Routes. The migration route from East Africa lies between the escarpments of the east and the ridges and plateaux of central Africa. North of Lake Nyasa the route forks, the eastern branch leading to the Zambesi delta and the western branch to the plateau between Lakes Bangweolu and Nyasa. From here the main routes are: (1) South, via Malabeleland, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State to the western part of the Cape Province; (2) West to Angola, then south to the plateau of South West Africa.

Of course, these are in no way well-defined routes; they are simply the general lines which migrating peoples tended to follow.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH

We have seen how people came into southern Africa overland without any deliberate intention, but because it lay in the direction in which their wanderings took them. Obviously people coming to it by sea must have started out *with* a deliberate intention; they must, too, have had the means to get there. The people of the ancient world had the means but were not much attracted by Africa, and it is unlikely that anybody had ever gone south of Cape Correntes until the Arabs reached there in the eighth century A.D. Thus it was left to the Portuguese in the fifteenth century to make the very important discovery that one could sail round the south end of the continent.

Survey

THE PORTUGUESE

When the Turks conquered and occupied the Eastern Mediterranean lands in the fifteenth century, European trade routes to Asia were cut and Venice and Genoa lost much of their business. In their place Portugal and Spain, situated on the shore of the Atlantic, became great sea-faring nations and it was natural that they should try to find a new way to the East, the desirable land of jewels and silks and spices. At the same time the Renaissance in Europe stirred in men's minds a curiosity about the rest of the world and the enterprise to try to find out about it. It is no surprise, then, to find Portuguese sailors in the fifteenth century feeling their way down the unknown west coast of Africa. Planning and paying for their voyages, at least until 1460, was Prince Henry the Navigator, a sort of 'Renaissance Cecil Rhodes'. These explorations were successful, for in 1487 Bartholomew Diaz found his way round the Cape of Good Hope, and a few years later the Portuguese started a huge trading empire, which spread along the shores of the Indian Ocean and beyond. On the East Coast of Africa they defeated the Arabs and set up trading posts to which Bantu from the interior brought gold. They never settled on the coast of South Africa proper, partly because there was nothing they wanted there and partly because they found the coast stormy and the Hottentots hostile.

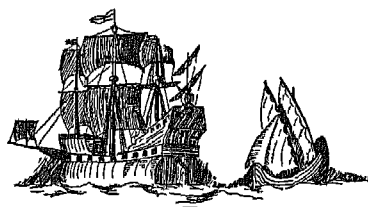
The first Portuguese to go inland was Antonio Fernandes, a convict sent by the Portuguese Government to explore. Portuguese merchants went up the Zambesi as far as Tete and missionar

priests went right into the Karanga country which lay along the south bank of the Zambesi. After a missionary, Father da Sylveira, had been killed by the *monomotapa* of the Karanga, the Portuguese sent an armed expedition into the interior (1572) and in the course of the next hundred years they established themselves in the Karanga country. But Portugal was tired; by the end of the seventeenth century she had lost nearly all her trading empire to the Dutch and the English and the Arabs, and had been driven off the high inland plateau of the Karanga country (now part of Southern Rhodesia) by Bantu invaders. The Portuguese kept the coast towns of Mozambique and Sofala and some of the low-lying country near them and their trading posts up the Zambesi as far as Tete. But they abandoned the interior and not until nearly two hundred years had passed did they again take part in the colonisation of Africa.

Supplement

THE PORTUGUESE

The Discovery of Southern Africa. Prince Henry the Navigator, son of King John I of Portugal and great-grandson of Edward III of England, spent his life in a lonely castle on the Portuguese coast studying navigation, planning voyages of exploration and sending his captains along the unknown West Coast of Africa. His objects were several: he wanted to extend the Portuguese Empire; to take the rich gold and slave trade of the Gunea Coast from the Moors; to convert the heathen; to find Prester John, the negro Christian Monarch, and with him to fall on the Turks from the rear; most of all he wanted to find a new way to the East. By 1460, when he died, his captains had mapped the coast as far as Sierra



A sixteenth century warship, with
an Arab dhow

Leone. For twenty years there was a lull in exploration and then King John II of Portugal sent out Diogo Cão, who in 1485 reached Walvis Bay and set up a stone pillar there. Two years later John II sent Bartholomew Diaz with two 50-ton caravels and a store ship, and orders to go as far south

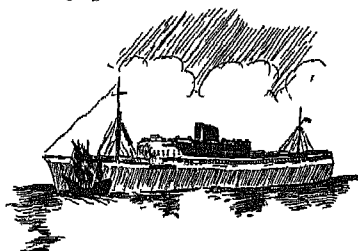
as possible. Diaz hugged the coast as far as Angra Pequena; then a gale sprang up and for thirteen days he was blown far to the south. It was very cold and rough and the crews were very frightened. When the storm went down Diaz sailed eastwards but, as he reached no coastline, he turned north and at last sighted land at Mossel Bay. There were some

Hottentots there but they were frightened of the Portuguese and ran away. After taking in water, Diaz sailed eastwards as far as Algoa Bay and there his crew wanted to turn back. He persuaded them to go a little further, but when they reached the mouth of the Fish River he had to give way to them and back they went along the coast. Probably in May, 1488, he reached the Cape, and Diaz set up the last of his stone pillars on the shore below it. He called it 'Cape of Storms' on account of the gale that was blowing, but John II changed the name to 'Cape of Good Hope.'

Diaz had found over a thousand miles of new coast, but his great feat was to find the southernmost point of Africa—among the most important of all geographical discoveries. The sea route to the East had been proved to exist and lay open for Portugal when she wanted to use it.

The Portuguese Empire. It was nine years before she did use it; in 1497 Vasco da Gama, with four ships and 170 men, rounded the Cape, sailed up the East Coast of Africa and reached India; on the way he touched at a part of the South African coast which he called Natal, because it was Christmas Day. The Portuguese defeated the Arabs on the East Coast because their ships, small as they were, were more than a match for the flimsy Arab *dhow*s and they had better weapons. At the sea battle of Diu in 1509 the Arabs met final disaster and the East Coast of Africa became a part of the vast Portuguese trading empire. They only knew the south coast as the scene of many shipwrecks and they usually gave Table Bay a wide berth after 1510 when d'Almeida, first Viceroy of the Indies, and sixty-five of his men had been tragically slaughtered by Hottentots.

The Portuguese in Southern Africa. The purpose of the trading posts of Sofala and Mozambique was the trade in gold which was brought by Bantu from the interior, but there was never very much gold and this part of their empire proved a great disappointment to the Portuguese. The trouble was that the Karanga country (parts of the present S. Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa), from where the gold came, had



A Portuguese caravel alongside
a modern liner

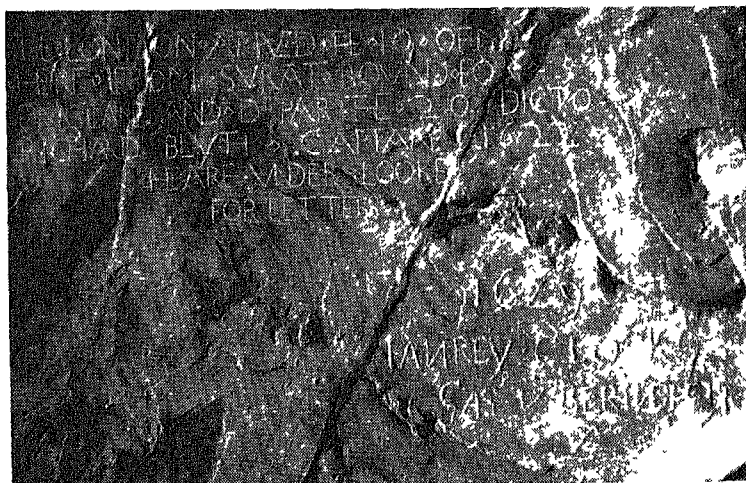
never been peaceful and orderly since the first *monomotapa*. The *monomotapa* was paramount chief but his power was les-



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

I PORTUGUESE EXPLORERS RAISING A CROSS

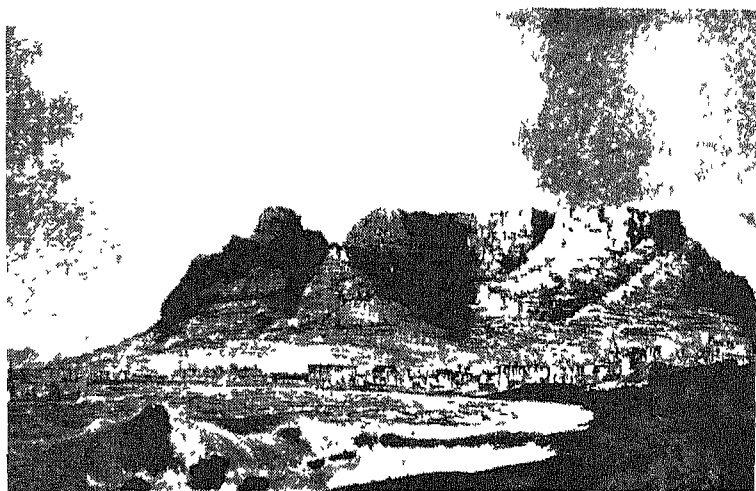
Crosses were set up on the African coast to show the furthest point reached



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II A LETTER STONE

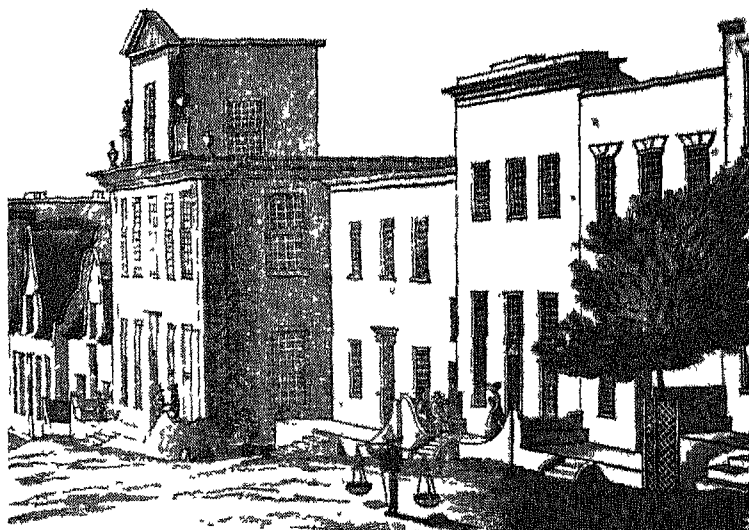
Before the Cape was occupied, letters used to be left under stones for other ships to take,



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

III TABLE MOUNTAIN

Eighteenth century Cape Town is seen sprinkled along the foot of the mountain



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

IV A STREET IN CAPE TOWN

These houses were built on the corner of Loop and Strand Streets (From a drawing by W. J. Burchell)

sening; by the sixteenth century his kingdom was already split up and even the part left to him (along the south bank of the Zambesi as far as the Hunyani River) was rent with rebellion. The *monomotapa* had his *zimbawe* at Mt. Fura (in the Darwin district); another *zimbawe* further west was often in the hands of a rival *monomotapa*.

As early as 1513 Antonio Fernandes had visited the interior and reached the *zimbawe* of the *monomotapa*; but it was some time after their arrival on the coast that the Portuguese began to make serious journeys inland. Father Dom Gonalo da Sylveira was the first missionary priest to go to the Karanga country; he had arrived in 1560 and made some converts along the lower Zambesi; a little later he went to the *zimbawe* of the *monomotapa*, Chissamparo, and baptised him and some of his people. When, however, he tried to stop certain heathen practices, the *monomotapa* became hostile and was easily persuaded that Father da Sylveira was plotting to kill him by sorcery and poison. So, in 1561, Father da Sylveira and some of his converts were strangled and their bodies thrown into a river. This, the death of the first Christian martyr in southern Africa, had the important effect of causing the first serious Portuguese attempt to occupy the interior. In 1572 an expedition of 550 men, commanded by Francisco Barreto, sailed up the Zambesi to Sena, intending to punish the *monomotapa*. First they had to subdue a dangerous tribe 150 miles further on; their muskets and artillery gave them a victory, but their losses from sickness were so great that they had to go back to Sena. By this time the *monomotapa* had heard of the expedition and sent a message that he wanted nothing but friendship with the Portuguese. Barreto said he must drive out the Arabs, accept Christianity in his country and give up some gold mines. The *monomotapa* agreed to these terms and did actually promise some gold mines to Portuguese traders, but they found it paid them better to sell cloth and never worked the mines. In 1574 Fernandes Homem, Barreto's successor, invaded Manyika and reached Maequee but did not find much gold.

• At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Karanga country was much disturbed by rebellions and invasions, and the *monomotapa* of the time promised all his gold mines, (and some non-existent silver mines on the Zambesi !) to the Portuguese in return for their help. However, the chiefs would not show where the mines were, so the search was given up and the Portuguese settled down to trade instead. In 1631 the Portuguese

set up a rival *monomotapa*, Phillipp, and the kingdom fell more or less completely under their sway; by about 1650 the Portuguese were at their most powerful and prosperous. Portuguese adventurers had large estates (*prazos*) which they ran with hordes of slaves. The *prazos* were mostly in the triangle contained by the Zambesi as far as Chikova and the coast down to Sofala. The Portuguese Government played only a small part in the occupation of the interior; it held a few posts, which were really markets, in the *monomotapa* kingdom near the Mazoe River, but not west or south of this. Butwa-Torwa always remained untouched by the Portuguese.

But the end of Portuguese domination was close at hand since 1604 the Dutch had controlled the sea and repeatedly attacked Mozambique, so that the Portuguese could get no reinforcements from home. In 1693 Cangamire, a very able conqueror, approaching from the middle Zambesi in Butwa-Torwa, collected tribes round him and overthrew both the *monomotapa*'s kingdom and Butwa-Torwa. The Portuguese were driven back to a limited area near the coast and along the lower Zambesi; while Cangamire established the Rozwi kingdom which dominated the country between the Zambesi and the Limpopo until the Matabele destroyed it in the nineteenth century. In 1698 Arabs captured Mombasa and recovered all the northern part of the East Coast. Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, Portuguese power and influence in southern Africa had been much reduced and it was not until the occupation of the interior by the British late in the nineteenth century that prosperity returned to the Portuguese colony. Mission work was carried on by both Dominicans and Jesuits in the interior until the middle of the eighteenth century.

Survey

THE DUTCH

In the sixteenth century, Holland shook herself free of the harsh rule of the Spaniards and proceeded to become a very great seafaring and trading nation; thanks to the efforts of her two great trading companies, by the middle of the seventeenth century she was a world power.

In the sixteenth century, Dutch ships used to go to Lisbon and fetch cargoes of eastern goods, which they distributed in northern Europe; but in 1580 Spain conquered Portugal and the Spanish king would not allow the hated Dutch to come to Lisbon any more. The Dutch, therefore, decided to fetch the goods from the East themselves and a Dutch sailor, Linschoten, sailed with the Portuguese fleet to learn the secrets of the route. In 1602 the Dutch East India Company was formed for the purpose of trading

in the East. They soon drove the Portuguese ships off the sea but they had to compete hotly with the English, whose East India Company had been formed in 1601. Thus it was that, in the first half of the seventeenth century, Dutch and English ships regularly called at the Cape to collect fresh water and leave letters under stones for returning ships to pick up. Of course the profits of the voyage to the East were enormous; so also was the loss of life from scurvy, a disease caused by lack of green vegetables. The Cape was the one point of the voyage where both east-bound and west-bound ships called, so when they had a favourable report from the crew of the "Haarlem", a ship which had been wrecked at Table Bay, the Directors of the Dutch East India Company decided to start a 'half-way house' there.

Jan van Riebeeck

In April 1652 a peppery ship's surgeon called Jan van Riebeeck and ninety men, Dutch and Germans of a rough type, landed in Table Bay. The European occupation of Southern Africa had begun. Van Riebeeck had his instructions; he was to plant a vegetable garden, build a fort and buy cattle from the Hottentots. The Company quite definitely did not intend to start a colony, a place where people would settle for ever. How, then, did this 'refreshment station' on the edge of Africa turn into a colony? Within two years van Riebeeck was in difficulties: Hottentots raided the settlement, his men refused to work hard on the gardens (why should they, they said, when their pay was the same whatever they did?) and, worst of all, there was not enough food. Almost the day he landed van Riebeeck had realised the trouble there would be and at last he wrote to the Directors and said that if there were a few 'free farmers' they would work willingly for their own sakes and would produce more food than the Company's own men. At this stage *all* the Europeans in the settlement were employed by the Company.

The Free Farmers

The Directors did not care for the idea at all but they consented, and in 1657 van Riebeeck allowed a few of the Company's men to start farming on their own account at Rondebosch. These 'free farmers' were given 28 acres each on condition that they grew corn and sold it to the Company only. But they found it paid them better to buy cattle from the Hottentots and sell meat to passing ships, a form of trade which the Company reserved for itself.

In 1658 the free farmers refused to reap their corn unless the Company offered a higher price and they were most defiant about it; "... since we will not be slaves of the company," they said. 1658 is an important year in the history of the Cape; the refreshment station had become a colony. In the same year van Riebeeck took strong action against Hottentots who raided the farmers; he also began to import slaves. The years that followed van Riebeeck's departure in 1662 are filled with the constant tinkerings of the Company and the farmers. The Company would

never fix a high enough price for corn, so the farmers neglected their cornfields; they repeatedly broke the law and smuggled their meat and produce on to passing ships, from whom they obtained much higher prices than the Company would pay. The trouble was that nothing would persuade the Directors that the monopoly of the Company and the prosperity of the farmers could not go together. They foolishly expected the free farmers to work hard and grow grain purely for the benefit of the Company.

Simon van der Stel (1679—1699)

Simon van der Stel, who was made Commander of the Cape in 1679, gave the farmers much encouragement; he has justly been called 'the second founder of the Cape.' He felt that he belonged there and he did actually live most of his life there. He started new farming settlements further inland at Stellenbosch and Paarl; he made the farmers grow trees, especially oaks; and he produced excellent wine on his own farm at Constantia. But even he could not persuade the farmers to stick to growing corn.

A Company official, Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede tot Drakenstein, sent to inspect the Cape in 1685, recommended a bigger population. The Directors took his advice and decided to send out colonists. But it was not easy to find many; the farmers of Holland were prosperous and the orphan girls of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, whom it was proposed to send out, hated the thought of going to a distant and barbarous colony. So, when thousands of Huguenots, French Protestants persecuted by Louis XIV, fled to Holland, the Directors jumped at the chance of sending some to the Cape. By 1700, some 200 French people had arrived there. Van der Stel welcomed them warmly and put them on farms among the Dutch and German farmers. They soon became merged with the people already there; they were energetic and hard-working and their knowledge of wine-making was most valuable. Apart from them there was only a trickle of colonists until the events of 1705 stopped the stream.

Willem Adriaan van der Stel (1699—1705)

Most of the officials of the Dutch East India Company made fortunes by private trading; of course this was against the rules of the Company which reserved all trade to itself. When Willem Adriaan van der Stel became Governor after his father he found that there was no trade worth speaking of at the Cape and that the only way to make money, which he was determined to do, was by private farming, also against the rules of the Company. He was not the first Company official to do this (indeed his father had a very fine farm at Constantia), but he was an able and ambitious man, and he started farming on such a big scale that he threatened the livelihood of the free farmers. This was his big mistake; the farmers already had many complaints and they had shown themselves independent and 'difficult.' Now openly protested; van der Stel did his best to squash the matter by imprisoning some and threatening fearful punishment, but t

smuggled a copy of their complaint on to a ship and it came before the Directors in Holland. The Directors acted quickly; they dismissed van der Stel and some other officials and took their farms. They also decided that free farmers were dangerous and stopped sending colonists to the Cape. For the farmers themselves their revolt had the important result of breaking down differences; the Dutch, the Germans and the French became one people.

Supplement

THE DUTCH

The Wreck of the "Haarlem"

— In 1647, while the fleet of the Dutch East India Company was in Table Bay, one of the ships, the "Haarlem," was wrecked. Her cargo was salvaged but there was no room for it in the other ships, so sixty men were left behind to look after it. They made a comfortable camp and passed the time away shooting and fishing and growing vegetables. They found the Hottentots quite friendly and peaceable. A year later the sixty were picked up and their leader, Janszoon, together with another officer called Proot, sent in a report to the Directors of the Company, recommending the Cape as suitable for a refreshment station.

Slaves and Hottentots

Van Riebeeck began importing slaves in 1658; they were mostly Bantu from East Africa, Asiatics from the Malabar coast and Malay criminals. The Company kept some, hired some out and sold some to the free farmers for about £6 each. By 1795 there were about 25,000 slaves in the colony, more than either the Europeans (20,000) or the Hottentots (15,000).

✓ The Hottentots gave the farmers a great deal of trouble because of repeated thefts. Van Riebeeck had orders not to have any trouble with them and he promised fifty lashes to anyone who ill-treated a Hottentot, even if he was in the right. Nevertheless, he could not avoid helping the colonists when they appealed and in a miniature 'war' (1658-60) the Hottentots were driven away from the immediate neighbourhood of the settlement. In 1672 the Company bought all the land as far as Hottentots Hollands mountains and Saldanha Bay for trade goods worth about £10. After the fighting which ended in 1677, the Hottentots moved away still further and in the eighteenth century many thousands of them died from smallpox, whole clans being wiped out. At the end of the eighteenth century they had either gone outside the colony to the north, or were working for the cattle farmers, or were wan-

dering about the colony as thieves and vagabonds. In the early days Europeans sometimes married Hottentot women; the descendants of these, mixed with slaves, are the Cape Coloured.

The Huguenots

When the Huguenots first saw the pleasant valleys in which they were to make their homes they lifted up their voices in heartfelt thanks to God. Driven from their homes by religious persecution, uneasily living in Holland, they had joyfully accepted the offer of the Dutch East India Company to send them free of charge to the Cape, give them land and start them farming. Then there had been the voyage. Sea travel was no pleasure in the seventeenth century. People were cooped up for four months or more in ships 130 feet long with six to twelve passengers to a cabin and only one tiny, ill-furnished 'saloon'. There was no privacy, no amusement, no room for exercise and no sanitation. There was never enough water, a serious matter when salt pork is the only meat on the menu and the cooking is done in salt water. They were beset by fears—fear of storms, fear of pirates, fear of the captain. Scurvy, typhoid and dysentery were common; one ship carrying Huguenots had 93 deaths, 232 cases of serious illness and only 4 people well!

When they reached the Cape they were most kindly treated by Simon van der Stel and the older colonists who helped them to settle down and gave them cattle, corn and money. Simon van der Stel had to remember that France and Holland were still at war: he was not sure that the Huguenots, in spite of the bad time they had had in France, might not still feel some loyalty to her and he was afraid that a compact French group might seize the Cape for France. That was why he took care that the Huguenot farms were mixed up with the Dutch and German farms. That, too, was why he was angry and rude when the Huguenot pastor, the Rev. Pierre Simond, asked that they should be allowed to form a separate congregation. The Huguenots, for their part, did not like being forced to unite with the Dutch and they objected to their children being taught in Dutch; at first they kept themselves to themselves and for some time they stood firm against the killing of the French language. In the event, French did die out; by 1723 there were only 26 people who did not understand Dutch and by 1780 French was completely forgotten. What had brought them together with their Dutch neighbours as much as anything was resistance to the common enemy—Willem Adriaan van der Stel—in 1705.

The Huguenot settlements were at Stellenbosch and in the Drakenstein valley (which, being like Provence in France, appealed especially to those Huguenots who came from there), at Paarl, Franschhoek and a few other places. Many farms in that part still have French names and some of the descendants of the original Huguenots still live there. Among South African names are many French names such as De Villieis, Du Toit, Fouché, Cronje (Crosnier), Nel (Niel), etc. The Huguenots turned out to be a very valuable addition to the population of the Cape, not only for their sturdy, independent, thrifty character but also for their experienced knowledge of growing vines and making wine.

The Revolt against W. A. van der Stel

Taking up his position as Governor of the Cape with the one idea of making money out of it, W. A. van der Stel obtained land against the laws of the Company, added to it by trickery and soon had immense vineyards, cattle farms and wheat lands. He also 'borrowed' over 200 slaves belonging to the Company to work his private land. Others followed his example and it is reckoned that in 1705 the van der Stel family and a few senior officials farmed as much as half the amount of land farmed by *all* the free farmers in the Cape. When van der Stel found that there was a danger of the Cape producing more meat and wine than could be profitably sold, he arranged that the only people who were allowed to sell these by retail were his own friends. Before this the free farmers had not minded the officials farming provided they could sell their own produce. Now they saw complete ruin staring them in the face. They would stand it no more. They held a meeting at the house of Henning Husing, and Adam Tas, the only educated farmer, wrote out a complaint to send to the Directors in Holland. Van der Stel became suspicious and he arrested Adam Tas; in his desk was found a copy of the complaint, a list of names and his diary. In a panic van der Stel threw the ringleaders into prison. The imprisoned colonists demanded to be tried in Holland and van der Stel had to agree to send four of them there. Unfortunately for him, the colonists had managed to smuggle on to a ship the original complaint which had been hidden in Cape Town. While the four were away, van der Stel did his utmost to persuade the others to withdraw their accusations; he tried to frighten them by solitary confinement, banishment and threats of torture but he had remarkably little success. The Directors were much upset by the trouble; van der Stel and

some of the officials were dismissed, and their farms taken over by the Company while the arrested farmers were set free. The plain fact was that the Dutch East India Company did not want a scandal. There was hardly an official, or even a Director, who did not make a fortune privately, and it was well known that even van Hoorn, the Governor-General himself, was piling up millions in an even more dishonest way than van der Stel. So the colonists won that battle. The Directors decided that free farmers were dangerous to their interests and stopped sending any more; they also gave orders that no colonist was to be allowed to become too rich. They were thinking of the leader of the revolt, Henning Husing. A point worth noting is that the townspeople had no hand in the protest. Van der Stel always said that it was 'de boeren' who were attacking him and as he was about to leave the Cape in disgrace he declared: "It was the farmers who cooked my goose." □

Survey

THE CAPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Cape in the 18th Century

After 1705 the colony made no progress for a very long time. Many farmers followed the game and their cattle into the backveld; those that stayed had periods of prosperity when war brought fleets and armies into Table Bay, but most of the time they were unable to sell their products, except illegally. In 1717, in spite of the protest of de Chavonnes, the Governor's brother, the Cape turned its back on the idea of bringing in free white men to work at their trades and eat the farmers' surplus food. Instead, more slaves were brought in and white men came to look upon hard work as something beneath their dignity. In the prosperous times, such as the happy years of 'Father' Tulbagh's rule (1751—1771), the Cape farmers lived well and built themselves magnificent houses. In times of depression, their misfortunes pressed more hardly on them; it was in one of these times that 'the Cape Patriots' sent in the famous Burghers' Petition (1779) asking for greater freedom of trade. But the Dutch East India Company was tottering to its end; Holland was no longer a great power and could no longer support such a big concern. Despite frantic efforts at economy in 1794, the Company became bankrupt and soon ceased to exist; in the following year the Cape was captured by the British.

What was the reason for the miserable stagnation of the Cape in the eighteenth century? It is not quite fair to blame the Company alone. The fact is that the Cape was a poor country: very little of its agricultural products could be sent to Europe and it had no others; in short, it could not produce much new wealth. (When Simon van der Stel went to Namaqualand in 1685 to look for

copper, he little knew that his idea of the solution of the problem of South Africa's wealth was the right one.) That being so, what was to happen when the population increased, as it did in the eighteenth century, by (a) natural increase and (b) the importation of slaves. The existing wealth, by which we mean food, houses, clothes, etc. would not go round. This was abundantly clear to farmers who almost literally lived on what they produced. The children of farmers could not go into industry because there was none and they could not work for wages because there were slaves. Land was the only thing left for them, so they went off into the interior to look for more.

The poverty of the country did not affect Europeans so badly as it might have done, because they had the lion's share of what wealth there was; more than half the population of the Cape in 1795 were slaves and poor Coloured people and such people do not own much. Nor, unfortunately, do they produce much (for what is there to make a slave work hard except fear of the lash?). We can summarise the reasons why the Cape made so little progress in the eighteenth century thus: (a) poverty of the land compared with, say, Holland, (b) the 'monopoly' policy of the Company, (c) slavery, which kept down the European population and (d) the distance from the mother country.

However, it was the people who went off into the interior and along the coast who made most of the history of southern Africa. These were the Trekboers.

The Trekboers. Even as early as the time of Simon van der Stel farmers had begun to leave the settled valleys of the Colony and strike out into the interior. At first it was for cattle barter with Hottentots and for big game shooting; then, as their own herds increased and the farms became too small for them, they began to drive the cattle off to 'cattle posts' further inland. Many would live for months on their 'cattle posts' and perhaps later send their sons to live there for good. Then we find the 'loan-place' system, whereby farms of 3,000 morgen were leased for a fee of £5 p.a. to men who did not own land at all. So there grew up in the eighteenth century a new type of colonist—the trekboer. This type is of the greatest importance in the history of southern Africa. They were the pioneers of southern Africa who pressed on into the interior, generation after generation, and whose wandering spirit was the spirit which marked out the path of the white man from the Cape to the Zambesi.

The reasons for this trek are not far to seek: the Company had insisted on a kind of land settlement more suited to Europe than Africa. It was, as we have seen, on the whole unsuccessful. But human beings can adapt themselves to their surroundings and circumstances. At the Cape, trade was almost impossible

and there were no industries, so men turned their backs on the Company and became self-supporting. In fact, they successfully adapted themselves.

There was much to attract these trekking cattle farmers. The country was very rich in game, there was almost unlimited pasture, there was the greatest single area of temperate climate in the world in front of them and there were at first no native inhabitants strong enough to resist. The trek went on throughout the eighteenth century, both along the coast and over the Karoo, pressing eastwards towards the area of heaviest rainfall. What stopped it was neither geography nor climate but some more trekkers coming the other way. These were the Bantu. Now the trekboers and the Bantu used and needed land for exactly the same things—cattle and a little agriculture for their own food. Moreover, both were frequently impelled to move on and seek new land for their cattle. In fact it might be said that their particular way of farming required that there should always be empty land available. When there was no more, trouble was certain. It came in 1779 when occurred the first of the series of devastating and bloody 'Kaffir Wars.' The Dutch East India Company showed its uselessness in this conflict, it would not allow the farmers of the eastern frontier to protect themselves in their own way, nor would it protect them. The result was that the trekboers of Swellendam and Graaff Reinet, already independent in every branch of life but politics, declared their political independence of the Company. That was the state of affairs when the British arrived in 1795.

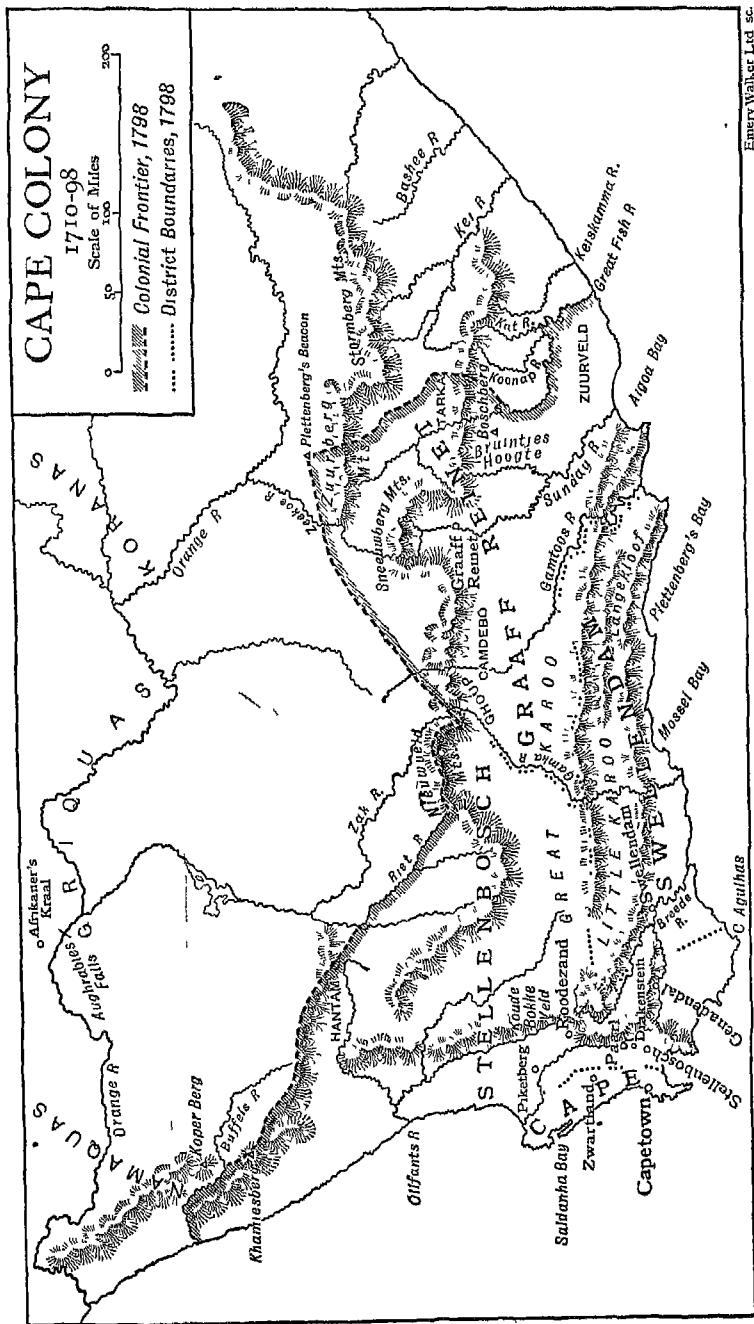
Conclusion

We can now see clearly the converging streams of population in South Africa. It is most important to remember that the European settlers did *not* sweep the Bantu out of their path; after every clash there were more Bantu embedded in white society; every blow struck at the Bantu life had its repercussions on the white community: perhaps this is the deepest truth in the history of southern Africa. 'The true history of South African colonization describes the growth, not of a settlement of Europeans, but of a new and unique society of different races and colours and cultural attainments, fashioned by conflicts of racial heredity and the oppositions of unequal social groups'.¹

Supplement

'LIFE AT THE CAPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Cape Town. Cape Town was a pleasant little town laid out in squares and straight streets, with some handsome public buildings. Its pride was the Garden, started by van Riebeeck as a vegetable garden and improved by Simon van der Stel.



Here the citizens liked to take their evening walk, as indeed they still do, for the same garden is still there. As in most eighteenth century cities, the streets were unpaved and consequently very muddy in wet weather; the stoeps of many of the houses stuck out into the streets so that walkers often had to step into the mud and be bespattered by passing vehicles. Livestock was allowed to wander everywhere and made much mess; in fact wandering pigs became such a nuisance at one time that anyone who found a pig in his garden was allowed to kill it. To make things worse, people usually threw their household rubbish out into the streets, so that even by day walking was unpleasant. At nights a slave carried a lantern in front of one, but even so there were accidents and drunken persons fell into holes and ruts. The town was guarded at nights by citizens who took it in turns to patrol the streets; The Burgher Watch, armed with muskets, dealt with murders, fights and the like, while the Rattle Watch (so called because they carried rattles to give the alarm) called out the time, tried people's front doors, made smokers put their pipes out and arrested drunken people and slaves out without passes and lanterns.

The houses were built of stone or brick. At first they were mostly one-storey houses with thatched roofs, but these caught fire so often that people took to flat red-tiled roofs instead and well-to-do people began to build double-storeyed houses. There was usually a raised stoep in front with stone seats at each end and here the family might sit and smoke and enjoy the air in the evenings. Inside the front door was the *voorhuis*, a large hall with a bedroom opening off each side. The dining room was behind the hall and separated from it by a wooden partition. Leading off from the dining-room were more bedrooms, the *dispens* or pantry and the kitchen with its big hearth and bread oven. In the backyard were outhouses for slaves, store-rooms, stables and a coach house. Very few houses had fireplaces in the living rooms, so that they were very cold and uncomfortable in winter. Actually, firewood was very scarce, except in the early years. Slaves had to be sent off long distances for it and even then would come back with very little. There were no bathrooms and no water laid on in the houses, but there was plenty of water in wells and canals and Cape Town people were cleaner in their habits than the people of Europe generally were at that time. In appearance, the houses were like those of Holland and Belgium but some things, as the Cape gable, had

developed into something distinctively South African.

Occupations. All trade with other countries was supposed to be carried on by the Company, but the Cape Town people did a good deal of secret trade with sailors and smuggled in things like tea, coffee, rice and clothes. They also traded in a small way among themselves; there were no ordinary shops, but sales in warehouses and stores were common and attending these was the sole occupation of many people. Prices were so high that English officers who came in 1795, thinking to save money, found it difficult to make ends meet on their pay. There were many boarding-houses for sailors and other visitors and no one thought it was beneath him to take lodgers. Foreigners were particularly welcome because they were charged higher prices than others. There were also many inns and taverns where soldiers and sailors drank, and where there was dancing on Sundays. People in skilled trades did not do much of the actual work themselves; slaves baked for the bakers, sewed for the tailors and did carpentry and masonry for the builders. It was quite usual to hire out a skilled slave to someone else and people who had vegetables and fruit to sell sent slaves out to hawk them in the streets.

Slaves. There is another side to this picture of slavery. We read of brutal murders, of people locking their slaves in at night for fear of them, of slaves too lazy to cook their own food properly and dressed in rags because they sold their clothes for drink. We read, too, of the punishments inflicted on murderous slaves, punishments as savage as those meted out to traitors in Europe; they were broken on the wheel, that is, their arms and legs were broken with an iron club and they were tied to the wheel where they might remain alive for two or three days. Sometimes they were impaled or strangled slowly. At any rate, a quick death was thought to be too good for a slave who had murdered his master.

Children. Early marriages and large families were usual. It was quite common for a girl to marry at fifteen and have ten or more children. It was common to put children into the charge of a slave nurse known as an *Ayah*. Sometimes these *Ayahs* became very attached to their charges, were given to them when they grew up and nursed their children in turn. In rich families there was a nurse to each child. In this way the children were apt to be spoilt and sometimes to learn bad language and habits. At the age of about six, they were sent to school to learn reading, writing, arithmetic and religion, but there were no good High Schools and rich people had to send

their children to Holland to be educated. This lack of schools was why they were often so sharply criticised by European visitors for being lazy and unwilling to use their brains. Children's health was usually better than in Europe. Apparently, measles and smallpox were the only common diseases; Peter Kolbe, a visitor in the early part of the eighteenth century, says of these: "But these Distempers handle 'em very gently and are fatal to none of 'em. I never saw one of 'em that died of, or was so much as sick, in either of these Distempers. They play about the Streets, at those Times, with as much cheerfulness and activity as if nothing ail'd 'em: and are laid under no Manner of Restraint or Confinement on those Accounts."

Daily Life. The day started with a cup of tea or coffee before one got up. Breakfast was at eight o'clock and dinner at noon. Any man calling in the morning would be offered a glass of wine and a pipe, which he lit from a live coal brought on a dish by a slave. After the midday meal everyone had a short rest; nobody did any work between noon and two o'clock. About four o'clock coffee was served and supper was between seven and eight in the evening. Evenings were spent in exchanging visits and talking, smoking, playing cards, playing the piano or dancing and by ten o'clock most people were at home in bed.

Food. There was usually plenty of food and, at least in the richer houses, there were always game, fish and fruit on the table. They used a great deal of seasoning in cooking, a habit which East Indian slaves brought to the Cape, and Cape housewives were famous for their pastry. In the pantry every housewife would have quantities of canned fruits, pickles and condiments of her own making. The Cape people drank coffee and wine more than anything else, but they drank tea, chocolate, beer and brandy as well.

Amusements. There was no theatre in Cape Town until 1800, so that most amusements were at home—music, dancing and games. They were especially fond of dancing which they enjoyed to the surging of a slave band. They did not read much; there were no bookshops and no newspapers, so that news of the outer world was learnt from old European papers and the gossip of sailors. Early in the eighteenth century Peter Kolbe remarked that "... Gadding and Gossiping are as much the Delight of the Cape European Women, as of any other Women in the World." A hundred years later English visitors found the young men rather awkward

and unsociable but the young women attractive, lively and polished. In 1781-4 a French fleet had lain in Table Bay and Cape Town had become so gay that it earned the nickname of 'Little Paris'.

Clothes. The Cape Town people dressed very well; eighteenth century Europe liked velvets, silks, and jewellery for men and women and Cape Town followed suit so eagerly that at one time it was necessary to forbid too much display of luxury, e.g., trains to dresses and large umbrellas, to those below a certain rank.

Wrecks. One of the excitements of life in Cape Town was the wreck of ships in Table Bay. When the north-west gales blew, the bay was open to the full fury of them and disaster overtook ships at anchor. In 1737 out of eight homeward bound ships in the bay, seven were driven ashore. One was saved because the first mate tied three iron cannon to the anchor and threw them overboard. 207 men were drowned on this occasion and of those who reached the shore several had remarkable escapes. One floated ashore on a six-pounder cannon which had not come adrift from its wooden carriage, while another held fast to the tail of a Chinese pig and was dragged ashore that way. From another wreck on another occasion a brown poodle swam ashore and attached itself to the guard. The dog became a great favourite with the soldiers of the garrison who called it 'Schiffer' and taught it tricks. They were the more fond of it because it used to go round ahead of the night patrol and wake up any sentries who appeared to be asleep.

The Country People

There were no other towns and not many villages. The villages were laid out on the same sort of plan as Cape Town, often with tree-lined streets and water furrows to take the water into the gardens. The houses were more spread out than in Cape Town and, at least in the wine-growing districts, were just as good. The great event of a village was Nagmaal (Holy Communion), held once every three months; farmers from miles around gathered in the square before the church, relations and friends met and a lively market was carried on.

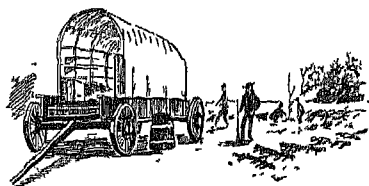
The wine farmers lived in substantial houses, often set



amidst the attractive scenery of shady oaks and running streams. Some of these farms looked like villages with their wide spreading gardens and many out-buildings. There the farmers lived well, surrounded by their big families and numbers of slaves, depending hardly at all on anyone else for food and drink and real lords in their own domains. They visited Cape Town occasionally but their life was on their farms. Travellers found them full of hospitality and often deeply religious.

If education was difficult in Cape Town, it was doubly so on the farms. Sometimes soldiers in the Company's service were lent to farmers as schoolmasters or overseers; they would drift from farm to farm teaching the children all they knew of reading, writing, arithmetic and the catechism. Some there were who spent years this way and found it a pleasant and care-free existence.

Of the life of the trekboers, the cattle farmers who trekked eastwards throughout the eighteenth century, we shall speak in another chapter.



SOURCE READINGS

1. Extract from the Diary of Adam Tas

Wednesday, December 9th, 1705.

Warmish morning. Put in this morning my brother Jacobus van Brakel. Had news to tell, and among the rest how that there was four men at the Cape the Governor purposed for to oppress and persecute whatever he was able, to wit, Husing, Meerland, van der Heyden and Tas, that was the foremost men chargeable with the mischief that was occasioned him, and there might one day befall those men what was befallen certain rioters and robbers

in the riots at Amsterdam, that was hanged from the window of the weigh-house; a scurvy parable to even with rogues and rioters honourable men that would spend their strength in service of the community. Further, that the Governor thought to appear presently at Stellenbosch, for to take some persons there to task, or read them something of a lesson. At home they do scare children with a bogey, but men that do live in honour and in innocence and are anxious of no ill-doing, need not to be dismayed of any man. Also a certain woman (T.D.) had been saying that the Governor might fairly lay certain parties by the heels, and had gotten for answer that mayhap the same could break the Governor, his neck.

Questions

1. Who was Adam Tas and who is the Governor mentioned?
2. What do we learn from this extract of the feelings of Adam Tas and his friends towards the Governor?
3. Judging by this extract, of what use was the diary to the Governor, when it was confiscated?
2. Extract from the Memorandum of Commissary J. A. de Mist—1803

§41. Education of Young people at Cape Town

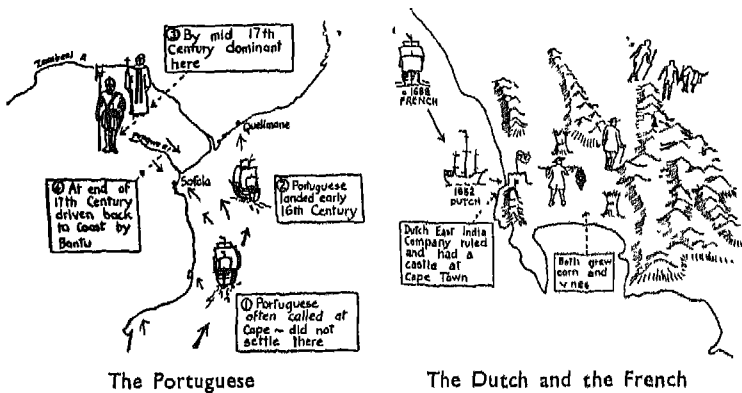
The opportunity for introducing an equally useful but more refined type of education for the young people in Cape Town should not be allowed to escape the attention of the future Government. A loyal subject of the Batavian Republic cannot but have a feeling of embarrassment when he hears travellers of other nationalities speaking disparagingly (apart from any national prejudice) of the conditions at the Cape. And this unpleasant feeling is enhanced by the reports of our compatriots from those parts—reports which cannot be denied, and which confirm most of the unfavourable opinions expressed. In general the young folk are indolent and seem to possess an intense prejudice against exerting themselves mentally and indeed avoid doing so on every possible occasion. The protracted stay of the French Fleet during the war of 1781-84, and the foreign regiments in occupation have entirely corrupted the standard of living at the Cape, and extravagance and indulgence in an unbroken round of amusements and diversions have come to be regarded as necessities. The signing of peace has, as it were, dried up the springs of huge profits but the passion for pomp and idleness remains.

Questions

1. Who was De Mist? (See Chapter III.)
2. Put into simpler language the sentence beginning 'In general, the young folk are indolent. . . .'
3. Why should the stay of the French fleet have corrupted the standard of living at the Cape?

4. What were the 'foreign regiments' to which De Mist refers? (See Chapter III.)
5. What was the 'peace' to which De Mist refers? (See Chapter III.)
6. What do you learn from this extract about the young people of Cape Town?

THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH



The Portuguese

The Dutch and the French



The Cape in mid-eighteenth century

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1487—Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape.
 1572—The expedition of Francisco Barreto.
 1652—Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape.
 1658—The free farmers refused to reap their corn.
 1679—Simon van der Stel Commander of the Cape.
 1688-1700—The Huguenots came to the Cape.
 1705—The revolt against W. A. van der Stel.
 1717—The Cape decided to remain a 'slave' colony.
 1795—The British captured the Cape.

TIME CHART

Start a Time Chart (to be continued in other chapters) using the following headings and overlapping two columns where necessary.

Hottentots and Slaves	Europeans	Bantu
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EXERCISES

- A. 1. Explain the sentence on page 30 paragraph 3 'When Simon van der Stel went to Namaqualand in 1685 to look for copper he little knew that his idea of the solution of the problem of S. Africa's wealth was the right one'.
- A. 2. What other peoples have had to leave their country because it was too poor to support them?
- B. 3. Describe the visits of (a) Sylveira and (b) Barreto to the Karanga Country. Use your imagination.
- A. 4. How different would life at the Cape about 1795 have been, if free Europeans had been brought in instead of slaves?
- A. 5. Write the last sentence of the Conclusion on page 32, paragraph 3, in your own words.
- B. 6. You are a Huguenot boy or girl. Write an account of your adventures from when you had to leave France to when you settled down at the Cape.
- B. 7. Pick out the Huguenot names in your class or school.
- A. 8. Make a small Time Chart showing the events given in the List of Important Dates in one column. In another column put important European events which happened about the same time, e.g., 1705—Revolt against W. A. van der Stel, 1704—Battle of Blenheim.
- B. 9. Imagine yourself to be an inhabitant of Cape Town at some time in the eighteenth century. Write a diary or a long letter or an essay on your daily life. Do not attempt to use *all* the facts you find in the Chapter.
- A. 10. Answer the following questions:—
 - (a) Why is Henry the Navigator described as a "Renaissance Cecil Rhodes"?
 - (b) What is the connection between Christmas Day and Natal?
 - (c) Why could not the agricultural produce of the Cape (except wine) be sent to Europe?

- (d) Why is it true to say that the Company's method of land settlement at the Cape was not a success?
- (e) What had climate to do with the trek to the east?
11. **Problem** (to be attempted before reading the chapter):— Consider the following circumstances: at the Cape in the seventeenth century there is an agricultural area that will support so many farmers and no more. A bigger export of farm produce is impossible. Skilled trades and manual labour are done by slaves. Beyond the area is empty land but it is either not suitable for agriculture or too far from the market. The farmers are increasing in numbers. What do the surplus do?

TEST QUESTIONS

- A.**
1. Give the meanings of the following words :—Renaissance, *monomotapa*, scurvy, monopoly, merge, bankrupt, stagnation, trekboer, to adapt oneself, repercussion.
 2. Whom did the Portuguese have to defeat on the East Coast of Africa?
 3. What made the Dutch start going direct to the East Indies for goods?
 4. What was the most urgent reason for starting a 'half-way house' at the Cape?
 5. What difficulty caused van Riebeeck to tell the Directors that free farmers were needed?
 6. Why did the free farmers take so little interest in growing corn? What did they prefer to do?
 7. Who were the Huguenots and why did they leave their own country?
 8. What effect on the population of the Cape did the revolt of 1705 have?
 9. What were the *first* reasons for farmers' going off into the interior (two)?
 10. Describe briefly the way in which a trekboer held his land.
 11. What actually stopped the trek to the east?
- B.**
12. Give the meanings of the following words :—caravel, *dhow*, *zimbabwe*, salvage, persecution, by retail, banishment, gable, *ayah*.
 13. What were Henry the Navigator's objects?
 14. Why did Bartholomew Diaz turn back when he reached the Fish River?
 15. Why did the Portuguese usually avoid Table Bay?
 16. Why did the Portuguese not obtain so much gold from the Karanga country as they expected?
 17. What do you know of the Portuguese in the Karanga country about 1650?
 18. What report did Janszoon make to the Directors of the Dutch East India Company?
 19. Where did the Cape slaves come from?

20. What happened to the Hottentots in the eighteenth century?
21. Why did Simon van der Stel disperse the Huguenots among the Dutch and German settlers?
22. Why did the Directors of the Dutch East India Company 'hush up' the van der Stel affair?

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

Cambridge History of the British Empire. Vol. VIII, Chaps. III to VI.
 E. A. Walker—A History of South Africa. Chaps II to V.
 De Kiewiet—A History of S. Africa. Chap. I.
 C. G. Botha—The French Refugees at the Cape.
 C. G. Botha—Social Life in the Cape Colony.
 ed Fouché—The Diary of Adam Tas.

APPENDIX

AFRICA IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

The ancient people of the Mediterranean countries were not very interested in Africa; their ships were not suitable for ocean voyages and their weapons not much better than those of the savages they might meet. It is unlikely that they ever reached southern Africa. All the same, there was some exploration of the African coasts.

Ancient Egyptian ships reached Somaliland about 1500 B.C. and about 1000 B.C. Phoenicians traded with the people of southern Arabia who brought goods from the African coast. This is how Solomon obtained his 'ivory, apes and peacocks.' Herodotus says that a king of Egypt sent ships right round Africa. Herodotus had the story from the Phoenicians who were noted for their 'tall stories,' but it *may* be true because the sailors are reported to have said that when they were sailing west the sun was on their right hand, a fact which would have been considered impossible and which they were hardly likely to invent. The Carthaginians explored the West Coast. Greek ships sailed through the Red Sea to India but the Romans were not interested in ocean exploration. We know, however, from a merchant's guide book written in A.D. 60 and from the writings of Ptolemy less than a hundred years later that the East Coast was known as far as 11° S. Ptolemy thought it turned east and joined up with China, making a southern shore to the Indian Ocean.

During the Dark Ages nothing new was found and much was forgotten, but after the seventh century the Arabs began to settle on the East Coast and went up the Zambesi as far as Sena. They were afraid of the Atlantic Ocean which they believed was a hot and sticky 'Green Sea of Darkness full of whirlpools'—an idea which had been started by the Carthaginians to frighten off Greek sailors. The Arabs did, however, cross the Sahara and reached the Central African forest belt that way.

Europeans began to explore the West Coast in the thirteenth century when Italians re-discovered the Canary Islands and even

tried unsuccessfully to sail round the Continent. Frenchmen and Spaniards explored, too, but it was the Portuguese who made the final discovery.

Thus, the idea of sailing round Africa was present in the minds of ancient people but it was really too difficult and there was not sufficient incentive.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CAPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Governor was under the orders of the Governor-General and Council of India at Batavia, in the East Indies, and they were under the orders of the Seventeen Directors in Holland. The power of the Governor at the Cape was very great, but sometimes high officials of the Company came to inspect the settlement and on these occasions the Governor had to obey their orders.

The Council of Policy shared the actual work of the government with the Governor and made laws. The Governor could over-ride its advice. The members of the Council were all officials of the Company.

The High Court of Justice also consisted of officials, usually the same ones as in the Council of Policy. When cases were tried involving free citizens, two citizens were included in the High Court.

The Independent Fiscal was appointed to keep an eye on the finances of the Cape and to stop private trading and corruption. He was directly under the orders of the Seventeen and thus independent of the Governor. The position could be, and often was, abused. He also acted as Public Prosecutor. There were lesser bodies in Cape Town such as the Petty Court for minor cases, the Matrimonial Court, the Orphan Chamber and the Militia Council. The citizens were represented in all of these.

The Landdrost was a kind of country magistrate and was the head of a district: he was paid by the Company to look after its farms and other interests and was Chairman of the Court of Heemraden. This consisted of four colonists; it tried small cases and also acted as a District Council to look after roads, water-supply, vermin destruction, etc.

The Commando system was first perfected as a system of self-defence against Bushmen. On the eastern frontier it was used with success against the Bantu. A Commando was simply a band of farmers under a commandant, often of their own choosing, and riding their own horses while the Company provided ammunition. The men of Cape Town were organised in a militia to help the permanent garrison if need arose.

CHAPTER THREE

THE BRITISH

Survey

BRITISH RULE AT THE CAPE

"What was a feather in the hands of Holland will become a sword in the hands of France",² wrote Captain Blankett, R.N., in 1795. His words tell us neatly why the Cape came out of its sluggish peaceful backwater and was caught up and swirled along by the fast-flowing river of European events. Holland^a was no longer a great power and her weakness happened to come at the time of the last round of the centuries-old struggle between England and France, so it is no surprise to find that it was around Holland, holder of the keys of India, that this struggle revolved. One of these keys was the Cape. This, then, is why the outbreak of the French Revolutionary wars in far-away Europe switched southern Africa on to a new track. It brought a fourth nation—the British—to the Cape, it added fuel to the fires of discontent in the interior, and in the long run it brought into existence the Union of South Africa, a Dominion of the British Commonwealth. It was the first of the long chain of events which led to the British occupying Southern Rhodesia. But it must not be supposed that Henry Dundas, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in England, had any such ideas of the future when he wrote, "It is impossible for this country to view with indifference any circumstance that can endanger the safety of that Settlement." The reason why a British expedition captured the Cape in 1795 was simply so that the French would not capture it.

To the British the Cape was a fortress, an outpost of India, and they wanted no trouble with the inhabitants. Such changes as they made, e.g. freer trade, pleased the people and the British officials and merchants were on friendly terms with the Dutch.

The British Governors were strict but just and respected, if not exactly popular. There was absolutely no self-government; this was partly because of the war, partly because the Cape was a conquered territory and partly because the British Government was afraid of recent American history repeating itself at the Cape.

In 1803 the Cape was handed back to Holland, at that time called the Batavian Republic—a republic whose spirit and ideas were those of the French Revolution. A peace had been made between England and France in 1802 (Peace of Amiens) and it

was no longer felt to be so necessary to keep the Cape. The Batavians sent out two very able men—De Mist as Commissioner General to organise the new Colony and Janssens to take over as Governor. They had entirely different ideas from those of the British; they intended to make the Cape a real colony of their republic; consequently De Mist and Janssens brought in many changes, some of them, e.g., civil marriage and the separation of education from the church, not at all to the liking of the colonists. This was the first time that the new liberal ideas of Europe had affected the backward and conservative Cape colonists and, if the Batavians had stayed, they would undoubtedly have had to face a storm of opposition. In fact, war had broken out again in Europe in 1803 and in 1806 the British captured the Cape once more.

This time they intended to keep it. The British, a great trading people, could not trade with Europe on account of Napoleon's Continental System, so they began to turn their attention more to India and South America. The geographical situation of the Cape made it a desirable and necessary part of their trading empire. For some years it was governed in much the same way as it had been during the first occupation and at first no English colonists were brought in to live there. After 1814, when the Dutch gave up for ever their claim to the Cape, ideas changed and English people were settled in parts of the Colony. The first two British Governors after 1806, the Earl of Caledon and Sir John Cradock, were good and capable men and Cradock, in particular, was popular with the Cape people. Both made useful changes, e.g., the Circuit Courts, a system by which judges went on tour and held courts in different places. The third Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, started badly, on the day he landed, by insulting Cradock. He was haughty and a bully and it was unfortunate that he was Governor at a difficult time (1814-27). Furthermore, he was greedy for money and was once rather venomously described as 'a horse jockey who went to the Cape to make money'. All the same, in his own way, he tried to do his best for the colony and really did exert himself to solve the frontier problem. We have already noted that there was no self-government at the Cape; nor was anyone allowed to publish a newspaper, hold a public meeting or find fault with the government in any way. Such a state of affairs could not last but it was not until after 1822 when the English settlers had been added to the number of those who wanted to find fault with the government that anything was done about it. Somerset belonged to the English ruling class which considered that the only thing ordinary people had to do with a government was to obey it. There was a prolonged struggle over freedom of the Press in the years 1823-28, during which Somerset became so overbearing that he was recalled to England in 1826 and resigned in 1827. The press was made free in 1828. Other changes made in this year were the reform of the Courts of Justice and a new system of local government. By this time English had become the official

language of the colony, a hardship to the country Dutch, and felt to be a violation of a clause in the treaty of surrender in 1806. Afrikaans was a spoken language then but was not written. Full self-government was still a long way off but the Governor had to have a Council of Advice in 1825 and in 1834 Sir Benjamin D'Urban set up a Legislative Council on which colonists could at least say their say, even if they could not control the government.

We have seen that the British captured the Cape for a sea fortress and trade depot and not for a colony of settlement. They hoped that the colony, and especially its hinterland, would not be a worry and expense to them. The Directors of the Dutch East India Company had hoped that for 147 years and it was a vain hope. The British soon found that when they had taken over the Cape they had taken over its problems with it. Much the most complicated of these problems were the relations between Europeans on the one hand and slaves, Hottentots and Bantu on the other.

Slaves. The importation of slaves continued for a time after 1795, but in 1807 the slave trade was stopped. This made people more careful of their slaves and in the eighteen-twenties they were usually well treated. The government made rules for the treatment of slaves which prepared people's minds for the freeing of the slaves which took place in 1834. Both the rules and the freeing were bitterly resented by the slave-owners, partly because they looked upon slaves as private property and partly because they objected to the British Government protecting the black man against his master. Even so, the colonists had previously put before the Government a scheme for the gradual freeing of slaves. Furthermore, the compensation paid was less than the amount claimed and the money was to be paid out in London. The civilised world thought of slavery as a crime against humanity; the slave-owners may perhaps be pardoned for being less convinced of this. The freed slaves had to work for their old masters for four years and then they became quite free and mixed completely with Hottentots to form the Cape Coloured.

The Hottentots. In 1795 there were some 30,000 Hottentots, already a very mixed race. They had no land and no rights and nothing to do but work for farmers, be vagrants or become Orange River banditti. Two things made the government pay attention to them—the shortage of labour and the arrival of missionaries in the colony. Farmers wanted the Hottentots to work for them; missionaries wanted the Hottentots to have the full rights of free men. Both quarrelled with each other and with the government but it was the missionaries who had their way in the end. Their first step was to start missions at which Hottentots were collected. The farmers said that the Hottentots would be better employed working for them, but the missionaries argued that the old and ill and certainly did civilise them. Caledon helped the farmers with

a Hottentot to have a pass to move from one place to another; at the same time he protected the Hottentots by ordering written contracts of service. Next, in 1812, the missionaries challenged the farmers by encouraging some Hottentots to charge their masters before the Circuit Court with cruelty and not paying wages. Very few farmers were found guilty, but all the farmers were furious that such a thing could happen and the affair came to be known as the Black Circuit. This anger was the cause of the Slagter's Nek rebellion (1815) when some farmers were hanged as rebels. Then came Dr. John Philip, the champion of the Hottentots, who saw that Hottentots needed land and rights. His insistent work led to the Fiftieth Ordinance (1828), which abolished the Pass law and made Hottentots equal to Europeans in law. The Fiftieth Ordinance increased the fear of equality which was the strongest reason for the Great Trek, but it solved the Hottentot problem. Thereafter the Cape held fast to the idea of equal rights for civilised men and the Cape Coloured, who are partly descended from the Hottentots, are a civilised people.

Supplement

SLAGTER'S NEK

The Slagter's Nek rebellion was in itself a smaller affair than the farmers' rebellions of 1795 and 1799, but it takes a bigger place in history for two reasons. First, it shows how much the farmers hated the government's using Hottentot soldiers to keep order on the frontier. Secondly, the harsh punishment of the leaders stirred up an angry bitterness against the British among the frontier farmers; the rebels were looked upon as martyrs in the cause of white farmers against missionaries and the British government who were trying to raise up Hottentots to be their equals. Here is the story:

A Hottentot laid a complaint against a farmer, Frederick Bezuidenhout, of ill-treatment and not paying his wages. Bezuidenhout excused himself politely from attending at the Landdrost's Court and asked for the matter to be looked into at his farm. This was refused and for some two years Bezuidenhout repeatedly refused to come to the Landdrost's Court. Then he was summoned to the Circuit Court at Graaff Reinet and when he did not appear a military party was sent to arrest him. They found him armed and ready to defend himself and fired on him. Then Bezuidenhout retired to a cave. The officers tried to persuade him to surrender, telling ~~he would get off~~ much more lightly than if he went. The sergeant went to the mouth of the cave and told him to come out. By this time

Bezuidenhout was angry and obstinate and he pointed his gun at the Hottentot sergeant, who thereupon shot him dead. At his funeral his brother, Johannes Bezuidenhout, vowed vengeance on those responsible for the death of Frederick. The reason for his anger was not so much that his brother had been shot, but that he had been shot by a Hottentot who was employed by the government.

Johannes Bezuidenhout soon after met Hendrick Prinsloo, another farmer, who had nothing to do with the Bezuidenhouts but had some old grudges against the government. Prinsloo sent messengers to the Xosa Chief, Gaika, suggesting that when he and his friends rose up against the government, the Xosa should attack the frontier and destroy the Hottentots and the English. Their reward was to be the Zuurveld and the cattle which belonged to the government and its supporters. Fortunately, Gaika was not eager to join in, but the fact that Prinsloo had asked him became known and turned many farmers against the idea of rebellion. They might not like the government much but they liked the Xosa over the frontier much less, and to bring them into the colony was felt to be dangerous. The authorities soon learnt what was happening and acted quickly and firmly. Prinsloo was arrested and the rebels immediately called out the farmers. About 200 joined them but many were half-hearted and when the final stand was made at Slagter's Nek there were about 60 of them opposed to a small force of 30 dragoons and 40 farmers. There was no battle; most of the rebels gave in as soon as the troops advanced and the ringleaders rode off in the direction of the frontier. They were eventually brought to bay and arrested, except for Johannes Bezuidenhout, who resisted until he was killed and his wife and son wounded.

The rebels were tried by a special court; six (one of whom was later pardoned) were condemned to death and 33 were banished or imprisoned. The execution took place actually at Slagter's Nek and was dreadfully bungled. Four of the ropes broke and the victims fell to the ground and jumped up. Spectators begged the Landdrost to pardon them but he had no right to do this and the execution had to be carried out. The execution was something of a shock to the frontiersmen; the rebels of 1795 and 1799 had been let off lightly and rebellion was almost looked upon as not particularly serious. The Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, decided that treason and rebellion must be severely punished.

Survey

The Eastern Frontier of the Cape

If the British could not shut their eyes to the problems of slaves and Hottentots, much less could they do so to the problem of the Bantu on the eastern frontier; for here we have the one thing that stands out above all others in the history of southern Africa—the contact between European and Bantu. The position was that trekboers and Bantu tribesmen, both seeking more land for their cattle, had come into conflict along the Fish River. The conflict was the more severe because the real occupation of both sides—keeping cattle—was the same. It was a long time before the British hit upon the only possible way of controlling the frontier, but they soon found that it was much more than a question of keeping restless frontier farmers in order. Of course the frontiersmen were quite sure that the best way to hold and even extend the frontier was by powder and shot, but Cape governments, both Dutch and British, afraid of getting involved themselves and having to spend money, repeatedly ordered them not to fight the Bantu. This was why the frontiersmen revolted in 1795 and again in 1799. They complained that the government neither protected them nor allowed them to protect themselves and this complaint echoes through the whole story. By 1809 the attempt to keep back the Xosa (the nearest Bantu tribe) by ‘ambassadors, presents and promises’ was a proved failure, for not only were they in full occupation of the Zuurveld west of the Fish River but they were reaching forward one-third of the distance from the Fish River to Cape Town. The British had to do something and they tried several things; Cradock drove the Xosa out of the Zuurveld and built blockhouses along the Fish River (1812). He also tried to ‘thicken up’ the white population of the Zuurveld. Somerset drove the Xosa back to the Keiskama River and tried to keep the land between the rivers empty (at least, of Xosa). He brought in 3,500 English settlers in 1820 and put them on small farms in the Zuurveld. All these failed; the Xosa ‘seeped’ through the line of blockhouses, the trekboers would not take small farms in the Zuurveld, the neutral belt between the two rivers was not kept empty and the English settlers found the Zuurveld not fertile enough for close settlement. Nevertheless, the English settlers stayed in the country and added yet another ingredient to the South African population. In the eighteen-twenties the Xosa were squeezed between the white men on the one side and the frightful turmoil caused by Chaka the Zulu, on the other. The fierce ‘Kaffir War’ of 1834 was the result. Sir Benjamin D’Urban boldly moved the frontier to the Kei River and proposed to take in the Xosa in the new province (Queen Adelaide Province) as British subjects. This was a new idea and actually the only possible solution of the problem. It was a disaster that Lord Glenelg, Secretary of State for the Colonies, when he had listened to what friends of

Dr. Philip said to him, ordered D'Urban to abandon the new province. In order to control the frontier (now the Keiskama River), a new treaty system was set up, which pleased nobody.

This period is one of continual bickering on the frontier, breaking out from time to time into furious 'wars', when marauding Xosa bands, farmers' commandos and English soldiers joined battle. Beneath all this, and much less spectacular, was a growing contact of both races in trade and labour. When the Xosa were 'driven out' there were always some left behind. In fact, the Bantu were never driven back; eventually they were engulfed and squeezed into small pieces of land. The *interlocking of these two races* is the fact that must be grasped before the history of southern Africa can be understood at all.

The Missionaries. In the way the government tackled all these problems we can see the hand of the missionaries. Inspired by Wesley's teaching of the value of every single soul, they threw their weight into the scale against the colonists who were already feeling oppressed by the government. The missionaries did not realise just how important slavery and bondage were to the Cape people or just how offensive to most of them was the idea of the equality of white, coloured and black. So, though they acted with good intentions and usually with 'right ideas they worked too fast and had not enough tact. To this we must put down in part the explosion which was the Great Trek.

Supplement

THE 1820 SETTLERS

After the Napoleonic Wars, which ended in 1815, there were a great many unemployed in England; some were soldiers who had come back from the war and found no work, others were hand workers ruined by the new machinery of the Industrial Revolution. Overseas there were empty lands waiting for farmers and jobs in plenty waiting for artisans. So the stream of emigration began. But it was directed to America; Englishmen, hating to see their countrymen lost to a foreign nation, began to look round for parts of the Empire to which the emigrants might go. Canada and the Cape were suitable and the Cape was chosen because it had an empty and apparently fertile region, a somewhat hostile Dutch population and a savage enemy pressing on the frontier. At first the British Government was lukewarm about the idea and from 1817 to 1819, although British people went to the Cape, they had no help from their Government. Actually there was plenty of work there for artisans and labourers and in 1817 a Scottish settler called Moodie brought out 200 Scots at his own expense and settled them in work. But in 1819, after the Xosa invasion of that year, the British Government took

Somerset's advice and set aside £50,000 to send settlers to the Cape. What made the Government act quickly was the need for a thicker population on the frontier, but they took very good care not to say too much to intending settlers about the savage enemy who were to be their neighbours.

It is said that 90,000 people applied to go to the Cape, but the number that actually went was 3,487 men, women and children. Each family had to pay a deposit, which it would get back when it was settled on its farm. The settlers were promised free passages and farms of a hundred acres each at the Cape. They were organised in parties, each party belonging to a district in the British Isles, and the Government chartered ships to take them.

The first of the twenty-four ships sailed out of the Thames in December 1819 in the middle of the coldest and stormiest winter for years and four months later the first to arrive dropped anchor in Algoa Bay. It was not a cheering sight that the travellers saw; round the bay were barren sand hills and between the ships and the shore was a broad belt of angry surf. Fortunately the weather was fine during the three months of the landings and there were no accidents. The settlers were welcomed on the shore by Sir Rufane Donkin, the Acting Governor. He founded a new town at the landing place and called it Port Elizabeth after his wife who had recently died. He had collected on the shore tents, dumps of food, farming implements and about ninety waggons which Dutch farmers had brought from as far afield as Graaff Reinet. The first settlers to come ashore were taken straight to their land—six days away, but, although the ships had been sent off in pairs at intervals, they arrived in bunches and there were not enough waggons to take the settlers away immediately they arrived. Consequently, a camp grew up on the beach, and many of the settlers had to stay there, crowded and uncomfortable, for quite a long time. The scene on the shore was described by Thomas Pringle, the head of a party of Scottish settlers:—

"A little way beyond I entered the Settlers' Camp. It consisted of several hundred tents, pitched in parallel rows or streets, and occupied by the middling and lower classes of emigrants. These consisted of various descriptions of people; and the air, aspect and array of their persons and temporary residences were equally various. There were respectable tradesmen and jolly farmers, with every appearance of substance and snug English comfort about them. There

were watermen, fishermen, and sailors from the Thames and English seaports, with the reckless and weather-beaten look usual in persons of their perilous and precarious professions. There were numerous groups of pale-visaged artisans and operative manufacturers from London and other large towns, of whom doubtless a certain proportion were persons of highly reputable character and steady habits, but a far larger proportion were squalid in their aspect, slovenly in their attire and domestic arrangements, and discontented and discourteous in their demeanour. Lastly, there were parties of pauper agricultural labourers, sent out by the aid of their respective parishes, healthier perhaps than the class just mentioned but not apparently happier in mind, nor less generally demoralised by the untoward influence of their former social condition. On the whole they formed a motley and rather unprepossessing collection of people." ³

The waggons set off loaded with women and children and goods, and the men walked. As each arrived at its destination, the people were dumped down and left to shift for themselves. Picture the feelings of a family who six months before had lived in a crowded street, finding themselves homeless in Africa with nothing but a pile of tools, seed corn and food. However, the neighbours were not so far away and the settlers still had rosy visions of prosperity, so they set to work with a will, building houses, ploughing and planting. They built wattle-and-daub cottages, whitewashed them and made fenced gardens round them. These looked pretty but they would not stand up to the floods and storms that came upon them. The wisest settlers copied the Dutch farmers and made their houses of tempered clay. The Zuurveld, where they had been placed, was picturesque, undulating country, cut up by ravines and patches of forest, where game was still plentiful. It *looked* nice country, but it had not been given the name 'sour veld' for nothing. The first wheat crop seemed to be doing well when it was completely destroyed by rust (mildew): the second and third crops fared no better and by 1823, although the Government had given them food, the settlers were in the greatest distress. They were very hungry and many had no shoes and were wearing rice bags and pieces of old tent for clothes. To add to their troubles a tremendous storm in October, 1823, washed away their crops and destroyed their houses. Nor was this all; as early as 1821 Xosa tribesmen, tempted by the growing number of cattle, had started raids and several settlers and their children had been murdered.

But they had reached bottom in 1823. Even in 1820 many who were not suited to farming had left to carry on their trades in other parts of the colony; by 1823, two-thirds of the original settlers had left Albany (as the Zuurveld was now called). The government gave the survivors much larger farms and, as wheat was obviously not the crop for that part of the colony, they turned to other things, the most successful being wool and the trade in ivory, hides and gum with the Xosa.

The original purpose of the settlement was to protect the frontier against the Xosa; in this it was a complete failure. The British Government had tried to do what the Dutch East India Company had tried in its day—to use people for a particular purpose in a way which was in fact against the interests of those people. Both had failed. However, the 1820 Settlers stayed at the Cape and added to its population a new group of Europeans, a group that was destined to play a big part in the life of southern Africa.

Supplement

CHAKA AND THE ZULU

Towards the end of the eighteenth century there was a powerful Bantu tribe, the Mtetwa, living in what is now Natal. Its chief, Dingiswayo, had turned it into a military tribe; he had drilled and trained his regiments so well that they conquered all the tribes near them. One of the tribes subject to the Mtetwa was the Zulu and the son of the chief of this tribe was Chaka. Now Chaka grew up to be a fierce, brave and troublesome youth and, having quarrelled with his father, fled to Dingiswayo, who made him an officer in his army. When Chaka's father died he became chief of the Zulu and, by murdering his old friend Dingiswayo, of the Mtetwa as well. Henceforth the Mtetwa and the Zulu were one tribe and they clung to the name Zulu. This was about 1817.

Chaka was a very good soldier; he went on with the work of Dingiswayo until he had an army which was absolutely unbeatable. The usual Bantu way of fighting was for the armies to stand some distance apart and throw long assegais at each other. Not many would be killed in a battle of this sort. Chaka gave his soldiers short assegais with broad blades for stabbing. In battle, the Zulu army was arranged in a crescent shape with the biggest mass in the middle and the horns tapering off and pointing forward. When the army



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V PARADE AND HEERINGRACHT 1763
The Heeringracht is now Adderley Street Cape Town



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VI BURGHER WATCH HOUSE, 1764
The Burgher Watch House is in Greenmarket Square Cape Town. Note the sedan chair and the prisoner returning from a flogging



[Reproduced by permission of South African Railways]

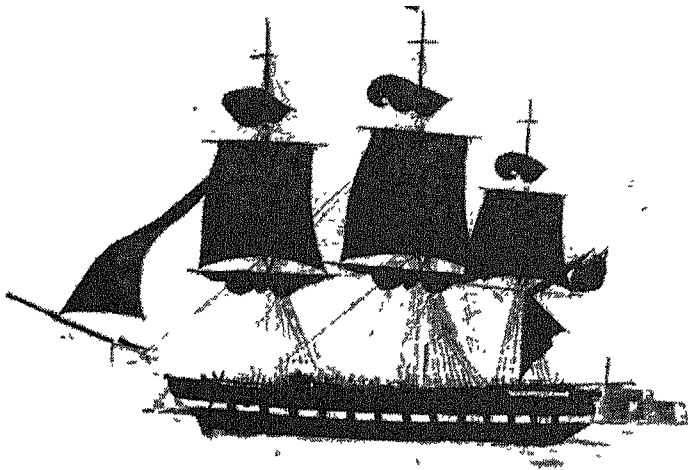
VII THE DRAKENSBERG VALLEY



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

VIII MORGENSTER, SOMERSET WEST

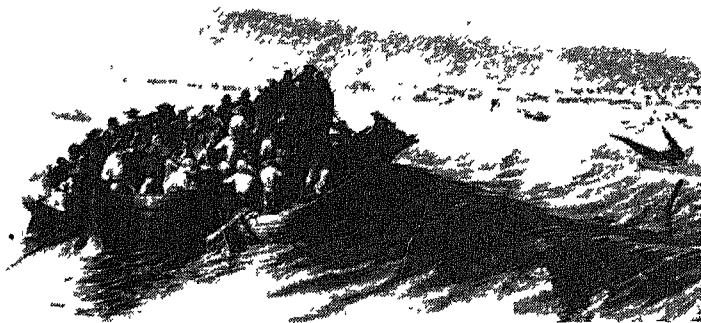
A typical example of the beautiful farm houses built in the eighteenth century



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

IX *HIL CHAPMAN*

This was one of the ships in which the 1820 Settlers came to the Cape



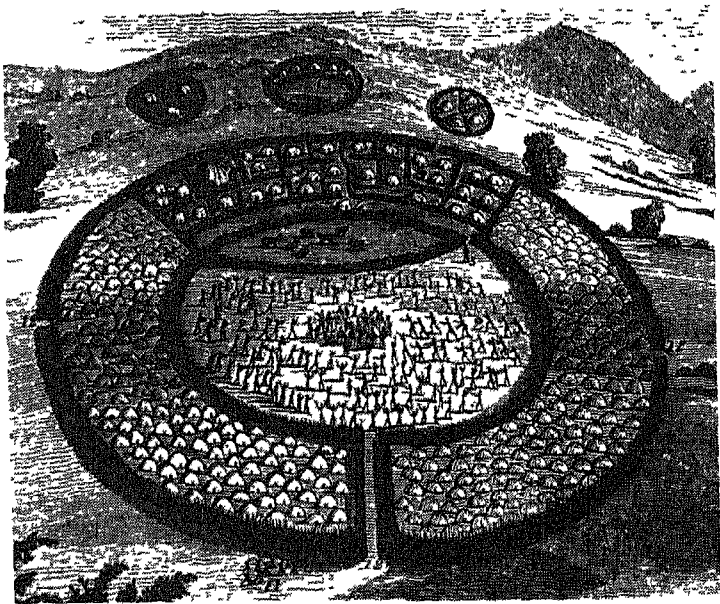
[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

X *LANDING OF THE 1820 SETTLERS*



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

XI. 1820 SETTLERS ON THE BEACH



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XII. DINGAAN'S KRAAL

advanced, the horns worked their way round the sides of the enemy and tried to surround them. Sometimes the enemy would have thrown all their assegais when the Zulu reached them and would be almost defenceless. The end came when the Zulu closed in with their stabbing assegais. It is easy to see how the Zulu caused such fearful destruction wherever they went.

The Zulu themselves were ruled very strictly. All the men were warriors and had to live apart from their families; young men were not allowed to marry until they had 'washed their spears' (in the blood of their enemies) and everyone in the tribe was in perpetual danger of being killed. Chaka certainly believed in

government by terror. There were revolts of course. One of Chaka's captains, Mzilikazi, fled with two thousand men and their wives and families over the Drakensberg to the Marico River (in the present Transvaal), scattering lesser tribes as he went. His people came to be called the 'Matabele'; we shall meet them again in later chapters. In the same way another Zulu army fought its way northward and became the 'Shangaans' of Portuguese East Africa.

In the eighteen-twenties, Chaka's activities were like a great explosion. Remnants of broken tribes hid in the mountains and the bush or, forming bands themselves, invaded their further neighbours. The Xosa, already pressing on the frontier of the Cape, were themselves pressed upon by fleeing tribes piling up behind them. In the mountains Moshesh, ablest of all Bantu chiefs, collected broken tribes into the strong Basuto nation and successfully defied everyone. A marauding horde, the Mantati, left Natal for the high veld, fell upon the wretched Chwana and were only stopped by the



The Zulu 'Explosion'

'coloured' Griquas* who had guns. History tells us much about the *results* of the Chaka explosion but not much about the causes of it. We have already seen that the Bantu way of life made it *necessary* for them to be able to move to new lands. We have also seen that the progress of the Bantu along the coast was stopped at the Fish River. The tribes behind the Xosa were getting more and more crowded. *One* of the ways in which a people can live, if its country is too poor or too small for it, is by robbing its neighbours. May not this be the answer to the why of the Chaka explosion?

Survey

CONCLUSION

We are now on the eve of the greatest single event in the history of southern Africa and it is time to look back a little and take stock. The separate groups which make up the people of southern Africa were, by 1835, already there, with small exceptions, and we have traced the story of each from its beginning; the Dutch, the Germans and the French fusing into one nation and then dividing into two main groups, one staying where it was and the other pressing to the east; the British alighting on the coast but finding themselves hopelessly entangled in South African affairs; Bushmen driven from the colony; Hottentots and slaves freed from bondage and set on their road as one people—the Cape Coloured; Bantu tribesmen, still uncivilised, in full occupation of most of southern Africa, face to face with perhaps the greatest crisis in their history since they started their southward trek. At this stage in the history of southern Africa, a portion of the Europeans swung away from their line of advance and burst out from the coastlands and the Karoo into the high plateau of the interior.

SOURCE READINGS

1. Extract from Ordinance 50, issued on July 17th, 1828

- II. And whereas by usage and custom of this Colony, Hottentots and other free persons of colour have been subjected to certain restraints as to their residence, mode of life and employment, and to certain compulsory services to which others of His Majesty's Subjects are not liable: Be it therefore enacted, that from and after the passing of this Ordinance no Hottentot or other free person of colour lawfully residing in this Colony, shall be subject to any compulsory service to which other of His Majesty's Subjects therein are not liable, nor to any hindrance, molestation, fine, imprisonment, or punishment of any kind whatsoever, under the pretence that such Person has been guilty of vagrancy or any other offence, unless after trial in due course of Law,—any custom or usage to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

Questions

1. What people at the Cape were 'persons of colour' but not

*The Griquas were people of mixed Hottentot, European and slave origins, who lived north of the Orange River. Early in the nineteenth century they had been organised by missionaries in more or less independent communities.

'free persons of colour' and were therefore not included in this Ordinance?

2. To what does the expression 'certain restraints as to their residence' refer?
3. To what people does the expression 'other of His Majesty's Subjects' refer?
4. What does the last sentence of the extract mean?

2. Letter from an 1820 settler to a correspondent in Cape Town

Nov 1, 1823.

Since I last wrote we have had a most dreadful flood, which has destroyed the whole of my garden; not only the vegetables but the whole of the cultivated ground, fruit trees, fences, etc. I had been at very great expense in preparing a vineyard, which is entirely destroyed. I had half an acre of potatoes, quite ready for digging and had *sold* them all at a good price, but the floods has destroyed them all; in short the destruction is so complete that I can scarcely believe it is the same place.

My house is built of stone and stands on the side of a hill; in the middle of the night I was obliged to break a hole through the front wall, to let the water out of my bed-room which was knee-deep; and to mend the matter, my horse, that cost me 75 rix dollars, was killed by wild beasts during the storm. I was obliged to keep a horse, having frequent occasion to go to Graham's Town on business—a distance of forty miles. If once enabled to come to Cape Town, I think I might surely maintain my family by my trade as a turner; at least industry and sobriety should not be wanting; but besides other obstacles I have five small children, who are now without decent clothing; and you know it must be distressing for a parent to take his family to town in such condition.

Questions

1. What other misfortunes besides the flood are mentioned in this letter?
2. What shows that the writer of the letter wanted to give up farming as hopeless?

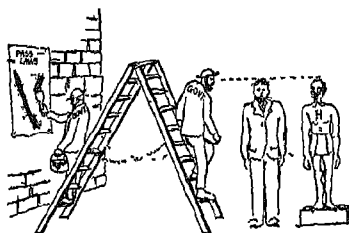
IMPORTANT DATES

- 1795—The British captured the Cape. ✓
 1803—The Batavian Republic (Holland) took over the Cape.
 1806—The British captured the Cape again. ✓
 1807—The slave trade stopped in the British Empire.
 1812—The Eastern Frontier fortified.
 1820—The British Settlers came. ✓
 1828—The Fiftieth Ordinance.
 1834—The slaves set free.
 The Eastern Frontier pushed to the Kei River.
 1835—Queen Adelaide Province abandoned.

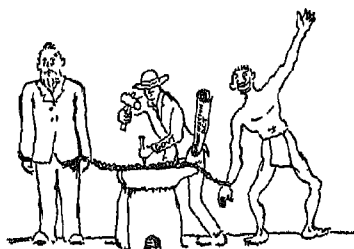
TIME CHART

Continue the Time Chart started for Chapter II, using the same headings.

PROBLEMS FACING THE BRITISH 1806-1834



The Hottentots

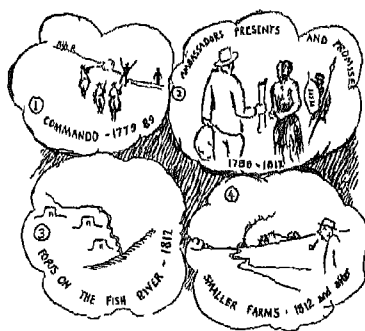


The Slaves

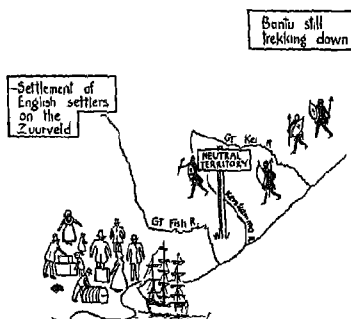
and THE EASTERN FRONTIER:



The Problem



Attempts to solve the problem



Somerset's solution



The treaty system

EXERCISES

1. Explain the opening sentence of the Chapter.
2. What is meant by 'the spirit and ideas of the French Revolution'?
3. Write an essay on the Hottentot question, arguing out the rights and wrongs of it. If you think the 50th Ordinance was a mistake, explain why and consider what the future of the Hottentots would have been without it. (See Source Reading on page 56.)
4. Make a list of the different ways in which the eastern frontier problem was tackled.
5. Copy the map of the eastern frontier on page 62.
6. Write an essay, describing the problem of the eastern frontier and arguing out the merits of the different attempts to solve it.
7. You are a farmer called out on commando to drive out Xosa raiders. Describe your experiences.
8. Tell the story of the Slagter's Nek Rebellion.
9. You are the son or daughter of an 1820 Settler. Describe your adventures after leaving England.
10. Describe the scene on the beach at Algoa Bay in 1820 in your own words.
11. Write a letter as from an 1820 Settler, telling of your misfortunes.
12. You are one of Chaka's warriors. Describe a battle with another tribe.
13. Describe the effects of the Chaka 'explosion' on southern Africa.
14. Draw a map of southern Africa; mark on it the position of all the different groups of people in the year 1835.
15. **Problem** (to be attempted before reading the chapter). On each side of a frontier there are cattle-farmers, needing more land. One side (A) have guns and horses, but are few in numbers: the other side (B) are very numerous but have only spears. Both sides are brave and ruthless.
 - (a) What happens if no Government interferes?
 - (b) Discuss various ways in which a Government might settle the matter.

TEST QUESTIONS

1. Give the meanings of the following words, and phrases: civil marriage, Continental System, haughty, venomously, hinterland, vagrant, contract of service, engulfed, bondage, tact.
2. Why did the Cape become involved in the war between England and France?
3. Why was there at first no self-government at the Cape under the British?

4. What changes made at the Cape by the Batavian Republic were not liked by the people?
 5. When the British captured the Cape the second time they intended to keep it. Why?
 6. What was the subject of the quarrel between the Cape Government and some of the people in 1823-8? What was the result of the quarrel?
 7. Why was the freeing of the slaves so bitterly resented?
 8. What was Caledon's Hottentot Law of 1809?
 9. What was the Fiftieth Ordinance?
 10. What is the complaint of the frontier farmers that echoes through the whole story of the eastern frontier?
 11. What was really the only possible solution of the problem of the eastern frontier?
- B.**
1. Give the meanings of the following words;—
Landdrost, grudge, ringleaders, banish, treason, artisan, emigration, deposit, undulating, mildew.
 2. Why does the Slagter's Nek rebellion loom larger in history than other S. African frontier rebellions?
 3. Why was Johannes Bezuidenhout so angry about his brother's death?
 4. What action of Hendrick Prinsloo turned some of the farmers against the rebellion?
 5. Why were there many unemployed in England after 1815?
 6. Why did the British Government choose to send settlers to the Cape rather than to Canada?
 7. What arrangements were made to take the 1820 settlers from Algoa Bay to their farms?
 8. What misfortunes did the 1820 Settlers suffer?
 9. In what way was the 1820 Settlement a complete failure?
 10. Who were the 'Matabele'?
 11. How did Chaka's activities affect (a) the Xosa, (b) the Chwana?

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- Cambridge History of the British Empire—Vol. VIII Chapters VII to XIII.
 De Kiewiet—A History of S. Africa—Chapter II.
 I. E. Edwards—The 1820 Settlers in South Africa.
 E. A. Walker—A History of South Africa—Chapters VI and VII.

APPENDIX

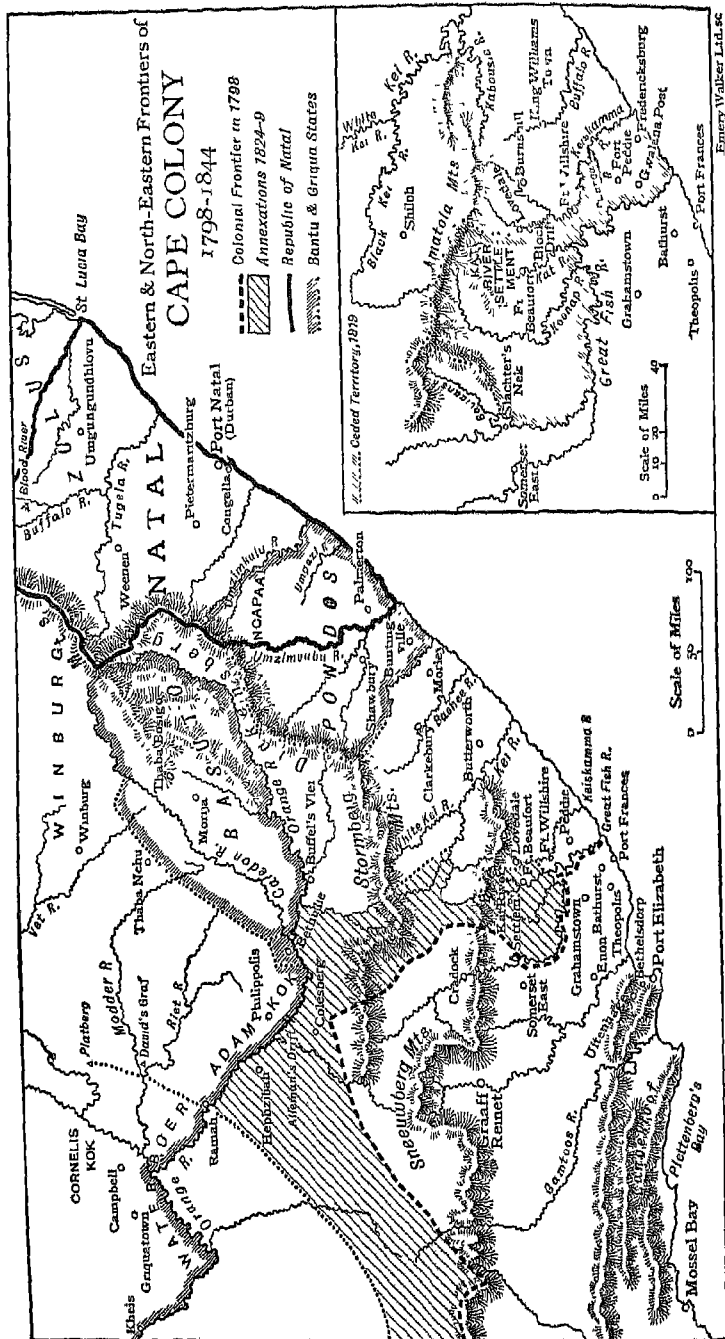
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CAPE 1795—1835

Until 1825 the Governor ruled by himself, except during the rule of the Batavian Republic (1803—6), when he had a Council of Four (including one citizen). The British Governors were subject to orders of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in England, who, of course, was responsible to the House of Commons. In 1825 an 'official' Council of Advice was set up at the Cape. This Council made laws and advised the Governor, but he could act against its advice provided he explained himself to the Secretary

of State. In 1834 the Cape had a new constitution. There was an Executive Council consisting of the Governor and four leading officials. This carried on the actual work of government. There was also a Legislative Council, consisting of the same officials and also the Auditor and five, six or seven citizens, who were not elected but nominated. This council made laws which could only be set aside by the King-in-Council.

Justice. In 1812 the Circuit Courts were started. Judges toured the colony and held courts at different places. They also sent general reports to the Governor on the state of affairs in the interior. In 1828, a new system was begun. There was a Supreme Court with professional judges; before, except under the Batavian Republic, the judges were part-time amateurs. Juries were introduced for criminal cases. Appeals from the Supreme Court were made to the Privy Council in London and not, as hitherto, to the Governor.

Local Government. The old system remained until 1828 when the Landdrosts and heemraden were abolished, and Resident Magistrates and Civil Commissioners appointed. The Civil Commissioners were administrative officers. The salaries offered were not high enough and after 1834 the two offices were commonly held by one man. This was unfortunate as 'government' to backward people came to be too closely associated with the law and policemen. The abolition of the Boards of Heemraden was a pity, too, because it meant that the people were deprived of any share in local government. There was no kind of municipal government in the Colony until 1837.



THE GREAT TREK AND ITS CONSEQUENCE

Survey

THE GREAT TREK

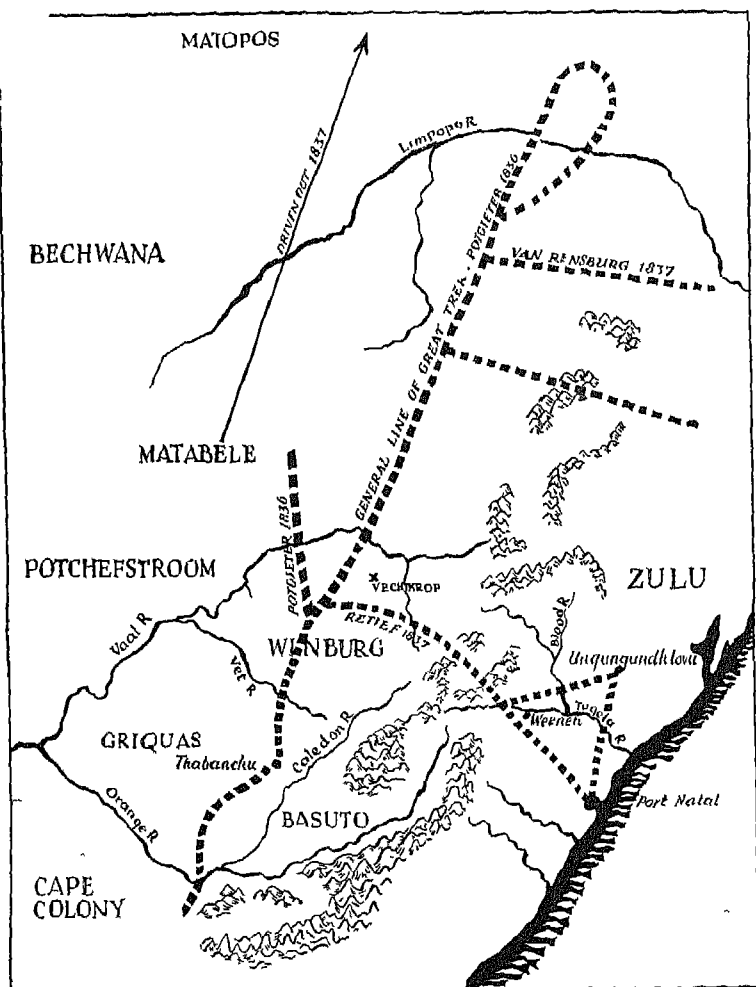
Brought up short by the mass of the Bantu in front of them, the trekking cattle-farmers of the Cape had by 1835 already begun to edge away to the north-east, looking for more land. In the thirteen years after 1835 thousands of them boldly trekked right out of the colony altogether. In one sense, this was a continuation of the trek that had been going on for 150 years and was simply a means of satisfying hunger for land. In another sense, it was a turning of the back on the British-ruled Cape Colony and all its ways. Before, when they trekked, farmers thought of themselves as still belonging to the Colony: now they were escaping from it. Their trek was a deliberate, large-scale movement, not a gradual drifting. This is why it is called the Great Trek.

Causes. It is not difficult to see why these frontier cattle-farmers wanted to leave the government behind them; there are many clues in the last chapter. The farmers hated the British, who did not understand them and whose government of the frontier districts they thought incompetent. They hated the freeing of the slaves, they hated the treaty system on the Xosa frontier, they hated English being the official language, they hated the missionaries who abused them; worst of all, perhaps, they hated the 50th Ordinance, which put Hottentots on an equal footing with themselves in the eyes of the law. It might be said that the main reason for the Great Trek was the fear of equality, the fear that equality of black, coloured and white would be enforced by a foreign government; such an idea was not to be borne. The plains to the north of the Orange River were said to be good cattle country and, thanks to the assegaais of the Zulu and the Matabele, almost clear of Bantu.

So, the cattle-farmers and sheep-farmers of the frontier piled their goods on to their waggons, inspanned their oxen, organised themselves into parties, rumbled and creaked over the great plains, crossed the Orange River and came to a halt in the northern part of what is now the Orange Free State. Here, in 1837, they founded the Republic of Winburg, the first Trekker Republic, and from here they fanned out north-west, north, north-east, east. Piet Retief led his followers down the passes of the Drakensberg into Natal, there to fall foul of the Zulu king Dingaan, who, seeing the

HISTORY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

istence, murdered Retief and tried to expel the Natal. He was foiled by Andries Pretorius who, the mountains, took command and decisively defeated Blood River (December 16th, 1838) and set up the of Natal, which the handful of British traders in Port accepted as their government.



The course of the Great Trek.

Hendrik Potgieter, meanwhile, had fought the Battle of Vegkop with the Matabele, an offshoot of the Zulu, and later attacked

them so successfully that they withdrew to the Matopos Hills, there to terrorise the wretched tribes in the neighbourhood. Potgieter founded the Republic of Potchefstroom, north of the Vaal River, so that by 1839 there were three independent Trekker Republics—Natal, Winburg and Potchefstroom

Supplement

THE CAPE FRONTIERSMEN

What kind of people were these Cape frontiersmen who went on the Great Trek? We already know of the urges which sent them eastwards in the eighteenth century (Chapter II) and something of their experiences in the frontier districts (Chapter III). Now we must look at them more closely.

H. Lichtenstein, a German traveller of the early nineteenth century, said of them: 'In an almost unconscious inactivity of mind, without action, without useful effect upon a wider circle of mankind, beyond the little circle which his own family formed round him, the South African colonist of these parts spends his solitary days, and by his mode of life is made such as we see him. Cut off as they were from the rest of the colony, the frontiersmen had become quite different from the settled farmers of the west and still more different from the townsmen of Cape Town. The kind of country in which they lived and the kind of farming which was theirs led them to look for loneliness and separation from their fellows. They had the bravery and endurance of men who must watch their cattle and hunt their meat in a land of wild beasts and wild men. They had the self-respect of a people whose religion taught them that to be white was to be set above others who were not white. But the very loneliness of their lives dulled their imagination and blunted their minds. They could be obstinate and suspicious of new ways and new people. Above all they loved their way of life—the gentle life of slow, sunlit days in the saddle or smoking quiet pipes on the shady side of the house.'

The men of the frontier were tall and muscular, often fully bearded or with only the upper lip shaven. Their wives were tall, usually fair-haired and good-looking. Both men and women were inclined to get fat. Men wore jacket, waistcoat and trousers usually of moleskin, but sometimes of corduroy or woolly duffel. Poor men wore leather clothes, very uncomfortable when, having been wet, they dried hard. Calfskin waistcoats with the dappled hair outwards were common. Women wore stockings but men quite often did

not; their boots and veldschoens were made for them by skilled cobblers, who sewed them with fine leather thongs for thread. Hats were broadbrimmed and of straw or felt but smart men even wore top hats. 'In the 'thirties men throughout the West clung to their top hats. They played cricket in them in England; in France they conducted duels and revolutions; in South Africa they trekked.⁽⁵⁾ Women dressed plainly and in quiet colours; the dress usually had a turn-over collar, fairly wide sleeves fastened at the wrist and flounces round the lower part of the skirt. The women parted their hair in the middle and fastened it in a bun behind. They usually wore *kappies*—sun-bonnets of fine white linen, skilfully embroidered. When travelling, they wore light goatskin masks to protect their complexions from dust and glare.

The most precious possessions of the frontier farmer were his horses, his oxen, his waggons and his guns. Horses were trained for lion hunting and would stand steady while huge guns were rested on their backs and fired. 'Hottentots and the big fierce mongrels that swarmed on every farm would be sent in to locate the quarry. Then the riders would link bridles and back their horses down to within thirty yards. Half the party would fire as the lion crouched for his spring. If that failed, the other half would fire as he sprang. If that failed . . . *dan moet jy 'n plan maak.*'⁽⁶⁾

A span of oxen varied from eight to sixteen beasts and on the level could draw a waggon at three miles an hour. Each ox had its own place in the span, the two strongest yoked on either side of the *disselboom*, the shaft in front of the waggon, the rest yoked to the *trek touw*, the chain or leather rope attached to the *disselboom*. In difficult places a boy, the *voorloper* or *touleier*, would lead the front pair. For going over a pass the span would be doubled. 'Up the slope to strike the lowest point of the track, a sheer wall of rock to the right, a drop to the left, and in front a winding ledge three yards wide badly blocked by boulders. The oxen would strain and stumble, fall and bellow, then stagger to their feet and go on again. Every three hundred yards or so they must stop to regain breath, while the driver pushed stones in behind the wheels to stop backsliding.'⁽⁷⁾

The trek-waggon was long and narrow; inside were four chests, one each side and one each across the front and the back. Wooden uprights held a double canvas canopy over most of the body of the waggon. These waggons had to be very strong and were often held together by leather

thongs and angle-blocks so that they could, if necessary, be taken to pieces and carried over the steepest passes.

Frontiersmen were deadly shots with their guns; to be a marksman a man must hit the small knuckle-bone of an ox at eighty paces. Most of the guns they had were smooth-bore flintlocks of various sizes; the elephant gun was a miniature cannon firing a ball weighing a quarter of a pound. Powder was carried in an ox horn and bullets in a broad leather bandoleer.

Houses were not very important to frontiersmen as they lived in waggons and tents so much. Some lived in very simple reed huts and others, better off, in big oblong houses, thatched and whitewashed, each with two or three rooms. The largest of these was store, kitchen, dining-room, sitting-room and bedroom for strangers. Floors were sometimes made of wood but as often of trampled earth, polished or smeared over with liquid cow dung. Ceilings were rare and mealie-cobs, tobacco and *biltong* would be seen hanging from the rafters, while the angle between the rafters and the cross-beams would serve as a place to keep papers. Furniture was naturally simple and mostly home-made—riempie chairs and stools and beds, waggon chests and the whitened skulls of oxen for seats on the stoep.

Villages, and consequently stores, were rare on the frontier; so most of the farmers bought what they needed from wandering pedlars whom they often paid with hides, fat or ivory. The most important thing these pedlars brought was gunpowder. There was plenty of game on the plains and men would rather shoot for the pot than kill their cattle. Besides meat there were pumpkins, boiled corn and mealies, boer-meal bread and, very rarely, milk. There was usually tea and coffee or, if these ran out, a drink made of roasted grain that was at least hot and wet.

The custom of the country was to keep open house to strangers and if the family happened to be away the chances were that a slave or Hottentot servant would invite the traveller to break in and make himself at home. Sometimes travellers were annoyed by the curiosity of their hosts who would ask them all manner of questions, as: Who are you? Where do you come from? Where are you going to? What is your profession? How old are you? Are you married? There was very little privacy in a frontier homestead, which is not surprising considering the large families that were common; there is a record of a woman of forty-six who had

buried three children, married off the remaining fourteen and had eighty-six grandchildren.

There were few schools in the frontier districts and even fewer north of the Orange River in the early days of the Great Trek. Children learnt what their mothers could teach them or sometimes a wandering *meester* would stay with a family for a few months and pass on his own scanty stock of knowledge. When all is said, reading, writing and a little arithmetic were all that were learnt. It was necessary to read to be a full member of the Church but there was not much need to go further than that, as there were hardly any books about, except the Bible, psalms, hymns, the catechism and perhaps a book of ancient sermons. Children played the games that all children play; the boys' chief plaything was the long waggon-whip. Like their fellow-countrymen in Cape Town, the frontier people were fond of dancing and danced a good deal, though the strictly religious ones frowned on it.

It might be thought that, living such lonely, separate lives, frontier families would have no feeling that they were one people. But they paid family visits and often came together to celebrate New Year's Day, weddings and funerals and to auction sales. More even than this it was war and religion that held them together as a people. Commando service (see page 44) was always a gathering of friends and neighbours and often a pleasant and profitable change from family life. The frontier farmers were a deeply religious people and all members of the Dutch Reformed Church. They knew the Bible very well and heard it read every day at family prayers. The Old Testament was particularly real to them; stories of the Israelite patriarchs living with their flocks and herds among heathen neighbours might, the frontiersmen felt, have been stories of themselves. There were never many churches on the frontier (before 1792 there had been none), but a frontier farmer thought nothing of bringing his family a hundred miles to Nagmaal (see page 37) at least once a year. It cannot be doubted that this care for religion, more than anything else, kept alive in the frontiersmen the feeling that they were a people and prevented them sinking to the level of the 'heathens' among whom they lived. It had very much to do with their feeling that to be white was to be forever set above those who were not white.

Supplement

THE GREAT TREK

As early as 1834 *commissie trekke*, small exploring parties,

had gone to spy out the land beyond the borders of the Cape Colony and had come back with reports of fine land north of the Orange River and in Natal. 'In 1835 two small parties went off on their own, one under 'Lange Hans' van Rensburg and one under Louis Trigardt. The parties kept more or less together until they were far across the Vaal River. Then the van Rensburgs went east towards Delagoa Bay and that was the last that was ever seen of them by white men. Trigardt's party went as far as the Zoutpansberg where they lived for some time near the descendants of Coenraad Buys, a border ruffian who was actually the first white inhabitant of the Transvaal. Life was not easy for the Trigardts; they ran out of tea and coffee and sugar and, worse still, of lead and gunpowder. Finally, Louis Trigardt decided to go to the coast at Delagoa Bay and in 1837 they started on the fearful journey down the Drakensberg mountains. To this day Bantu in those parts speak of the first white men who dropped out of the sky among them with waggons and horses and oxen. Some of the party died on the journey through the fever-stricken lowlands and more, including Trigardt and his wife, died at Lourenço Marques. Eventually, a ship fetched the twenty-six survivors to Natal. ~

The first real Great Trek party left the colony in 1836, led by Hendrik Potgieter, and this was closely followed by Sarel Cilliers's party, which included in it a boy of ten called Paul Kruger. ~ After a while these two parties joined up and Potgieter was elected commandant. Potgieter was a tall, lean man with a brown, close-cropped beard and a shaven upper lip. He was energetic and determined and a great leader of men. There were not many human beings in the open plains of the present Orange Free State and Potgieter had little difficulty in buying for cattle and the promise of protection all the land between the Vet and Vaal Rivers (later the Republic of Winburg). But not far away to the north-west was the formidable tribe of the Matabele (see page 55). Their chief Mzilikazi, had received missionaries and hunters who came 'by one and one,' but people who came 'like armies' were another matter. So, when Trekkers began to appear on the north bank of the Vaal River, Matabele patrols fell on them. When Potgieter heard of this he called in all his followers and made lager on a little hill that was later known as Vegkop. The battle that took place there is typical of all such battles and is thus described in detail:

The Battle of Vegkop. The lager was made of fifty waggons in a ring, lashed together with their trek chains. Thornbushes were piled under the waggons and twisted in and out of the spokes of the wheels. In the middle of the ring, a sort of inner fortress was constructed of four waggons roofed with planks and skins; this was the refuge of the women and children. There were only forty men to defend the lager, but each man had a spare gun and his wife stood by to load it for him. The women also prepared bullets, nicked across to split up in flight, and sewed little bags of buckskin to be filled with small shot. There was no room in the lager for the cattle, but the horses were kept there ready for use. When all was prepared, there was nothing to do but wait. On October 19th, early in the morning, the alarm was given. The Matabele were close, something like 5,000 of them. Sarel Cilliers said prayers for victory and preservation and Potgieter then rode out of the lager at the head of his men. They approached the dark mass of the Matabele army and Potgieter tried to speak to their induna; but the Matabele were not in the mood for talking and with a sinister hiss the warriors rose to their feet and the army began to spread its encircling horns. Potgieter's men dismounted, fired, re-loaded, mounted and rode out of assegai-range. A dozen times they did this while the Matabele steadily advanced. Then they rode into the lager and blocked the narrow entrance. The Matabele squatted out of range and the Trekkers settled down to wait for the attack. Three of them left the lager and made their escape; the rest washed their guns and looked to their powder and ammunition. Cilliers prayed again and Potgieter went among the women, encouraging and heartening them. The strain of waiting was great and some wanted to ride out and lure the enemy on, but Potgieter tied a red rag to a whip-stock and waved it at the Matabele. This challenge worked and the Matabele hissed their war-cry and came on. Then followed a furious battle round the lager. The warriors hurled their assegais high into the air, fought their way close to the lager and tugged at the thornbushes, but it was useless. The Trekkers waited until they were within thirty paces and then broke into rapid fire, each man firing as hard as he could while his wife rammed powder and anything that would go down the barrel into his spare gun. The Matabele fell in heaps and at length drew off a little distance, driving the Trekkers' cattle with them. In the lull that followed the men in the lager picked off those warriors that lay on the ground,

sweating. Dead men do not sweat and they might be shamming dead, while waiting for the next rush.

Then Potgieter and half a dozen men rode out again and again the Matabele came on. Again they swarmed round the waggons and again they were shot down, until at last they recognised defeat and went off, taking the captured herds with them. The Trekkers, when they took stock of their situation, found that they had two men killed and many wounded; worse, they were stranded with no oxen to draw their waggons. Help came to them from Moroko, a Rolong chief and Archbell, a Wesleyan missionary, and they were able to retreat.

But the victory was theirs and it was a measure of their superiority over the fiercest and bravest of Bantu warriors. As long as they had horses, guns and waggons and the Bantu had only assegais and hide shields, they would always be able to defeat them, unless the Bantu could entice them into broken country and there ambush them. -

This was in 1836; before the end of 1837 the Matabele had been attacked twice by Trekkér commandos and were streaming away to hack out a new kingdom around the Matopos Hills. Potgieter's people went south again and met a new Trek party led by Gerrit Maritz, a well-to-do waggon-maker of Graaf Reinet. Maritz, smartly dressed, ambitious, almost a townsman, was quite different from the dour Potgieter and it is not surprising that there were bitter quarrels between their two parties. In 1837 Piet Retief, the greatest of the Trek leaders, came up with a hundred waggons. Retief was not frontier born and had a wider knowledge of men and things than the other leaders. His discontent had led him to send his famous Manifesto to "The Grahamstown Journal" before he trekked. Yet another party was led by Piet Uys, a younger man than the others and apt to go at things like a bull at a gate, regardless of consequences. Piet Retief, elected Governor and Head Commandant, did his best to smooth out the quarrels but he was not successful and in the end the Great Trek split, Potgieter going over the Vaal River and Retief into Natal where he was later joined by Maritz and Uys. Retief visited Dingaan, the Zulu king, in his kraal at Ungungundhlovu and Dingaan promised to give the Trekkers land, provided they recovered some cattle that had been stolen from him by another chief. Rejoicing, the Trekkers poured down the Drakensberg passes into Natal, and Retief, having recovered Dingaan's stolen cattle, rode off with seventy men to have Dingaan

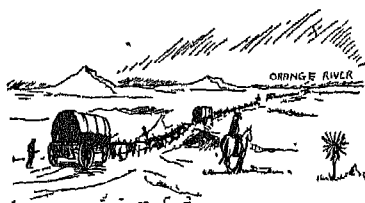
sign the paper handing over the land. But Dingaan was afraid of the Trekkers; he had heard what had happened to Mzilikazi and the Matabele and he was determined that it should not happen to him. Therefore, when he heard that Retief was on his way he brought an extra three thousand warriors in and hid them in the huts in his kraal.

On Tuesday, 6th February, Dingaan signed a deed of cession granting to the South African emigrants all the wide lands from the Tugela to the Umzimyubu River in payment for services rendered. Having thus convinced them that his heart was indeed good, he invited them unarmed into the great central kraal to drink a parting draught of beer. They came, and as the warriors danced and the stirrup-cup went round, Dingaan rose to his feet, bulky and menacing, and roared, "Kill the wizards". At that the dancers and the warriors hidden in the huts poured down upon the defenceless Boers. They dragged them to the hill of execution over which the royal vultures hovered and swooped without ceasing, and there beat their brains out. Others slew the coloured retainers at the gate.

And forthwith, company after company dashed westward, plumes tossing, shields brandished, assegais flashing, to fall upon the scattered and unsuspecting Boer encampments in Natal.

Most of the Trekkers were dispersed in small encampments and it was upon these that the Zulu burst. Many were slain before laagers could be formed and the savage warriors driven off. The Natal Trekkers suffered much in this year of 1838. Not only was a commando of Piet Uys defeated and Piet Uys himself killed but the Zulu even drove the English traders at Port Natal to take refuge on a ship. Harried by Zulu, short of supplies and depressed by incessant rain, the Trekkers retreated until most of them were encamped with Maritz under the shadow of the mountains. Maritz died in September; this was the lowest point in the fortunes of the Trekkers. In November, Andries Pretorius rode in and preparations were made to attack the Zulu. Pretorius with nearly five hundred men advanced into the Zulu country and defeated them on the banks of the Blood River on Sunday, December 16th, 1838. After the battle the commando went on to Ungungundhlovu, which they found deserted. On the hill of execution they found the remains of Retief and his followers and in Retief's knapsack, miraculously preserved, the deed of cession granting Natal to the Trekkers. When

the news of Blood River reached them, the Trekkers inspanned and moved out from the mountains. They set up their capital at Pietermaritzburg (called after their two dead leaders) and began to disperse on to 6,000-acre farms. The small British force which had landed at the port earlier in the year to keep the peace in South East Africa went away in 1839. Dingaan's power had by no means been broken at Blood River though the defeat had taught the Zulu not to attack Trekkers. In the event, the Zulu broke their own military power. Dingaan's brother, Panda, revolted and offered his services to the Republic of Natal. In 1840 a Trekker commando, together with Panda's army, swept Dingaan out of the Zulu country and Panda was proclaimed King of the Zulu. Dingaan was savagely murdered. The commando, known thereafter as the Cattle Commando, came back with 36,000 head of cattle and over 1,000 Zulu children 'apprentices'.* At last the Trekkers of Natal had all the land, cattle and labour they needed and each man could now lead an undisturbed life in his own place.



Survey

THE RESULTS OF THE GREAT TREK

The Great Trek was much the most important event in the history of southern Africa for several reasons. First, a large part of the population of the Cape Colony had left the Cape and so lost touch with the rest of the world. The rest of the world was, on account of the Industrial Revolution, changing very quickly and the Trekkers were able to stand clear of these changes for fifty years. Secondly, the Great Trek made it certain that South Africa was to be for ever Dutch. The ideals of the Trekkers were in the course of time to be the ideals of South Africa. Thirdly, the Great Trek stretched the frontier between European

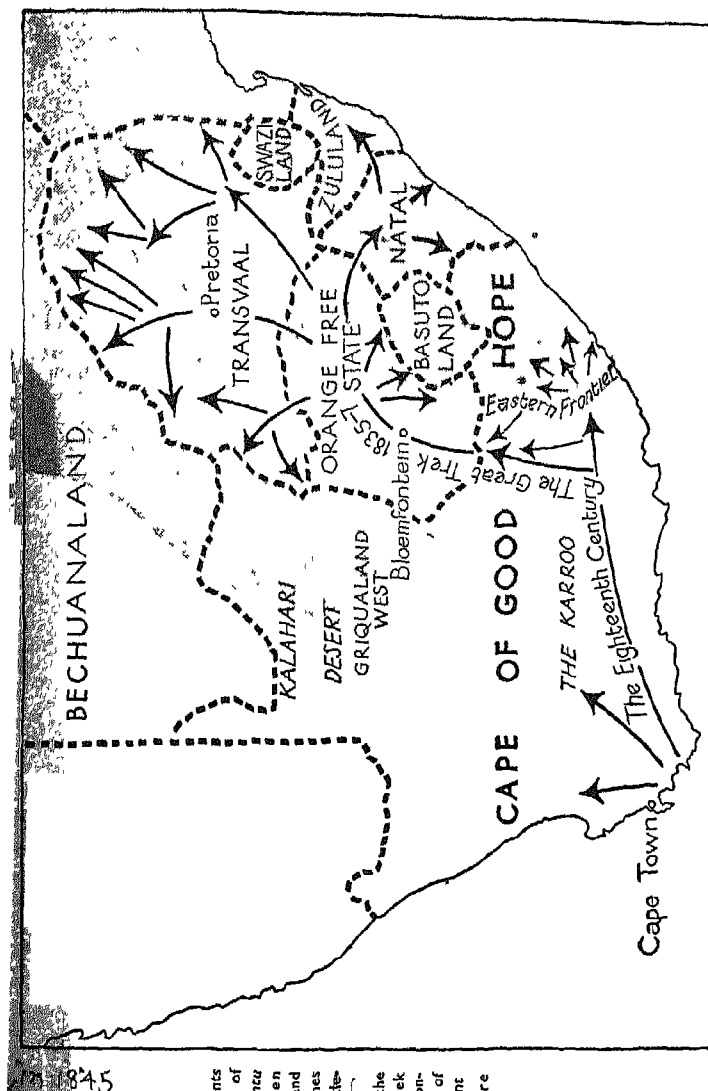
*It was a custom to make them which gave to another rise to the

ed until the 1860's to obtain Bantu children and mer for a certain number of years. The paper right to keep an 'apprentice' could be sold 'apprentice' then had to go. This gave al farmers were buying slaves.

and Bantu to its uttermost limits. It is necessary to look at the map on page 75 to understand the colossal significance of this. The Europeans had outflanked the main mass of the Bantu and broken through it down to the sea. This had brought them round *behind* the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. Far to the north, beyond the Vaal River, Europeans fanned out in a great horseshoe and came up against Bantu settlement all along the line. We have already seen (Chapter III) what a difficult problem the Bantu frontier of the Cape was. It would be a strange thing if the lengthening of the frontier by many hundreds of miles had done anything but make the problem many times more difficult. For more than forty years after the Great Trek started, this black-white frontier kept South Africa in a turmoil and when at last there was no longer a frontier there was left behind a very complicated 'native problem', and a bitter quarrel between the two sections of Europeans. Such were the consequences of the Great Trek.

One of the things which encouraged the Trekkers to strike out so boldly into the interior was the report that it was empty of people and when they had conquered the Matabele and Zulu they spread out on their 6,000-acre farms and began to live the life for the sake of which they had trekked. But it soon became clear that the land was anything but empty. In the Republic of Natal, Bantu, free now from the threat of Zulu assegais, appeared as it were, from behind every stone and every bush. The Trekkers wanted some to work on their farms, but there were far too many. They began to move them south into lands already overcrowded with Pondo, Tembu and Xosa. The British, afraid of the effect on the already restless eastern frontier of the Cape, promptly captured Natal in 1842. Also, it may be said, the British did not care to have a foreign port on the sea route to India. The Trekkers resisted a while, then sadly trekked back over the mountains into the interior.

To the north of the Cape there was terrible confusion. There were the Basuto, a tribe built up by Moshesh, greatest of all chiefs, out of the tattered remnants of broken tribes. Striding his mountain country, Moshesh was no mere savage; he was a statesman, skilled to play off his opponents against each other. West of him were the coloured Griquas, independent riding horses and using guns. Between these two, the Trekkers had plunged and turning, pressed hard upon the lands of the British, to defend their northern frontier, crossed it and scattered a Trekker commando (at Zwartkopjes). No sooner had they done this than the soldiers were hurried back to the eastern frontier of the Cape where war broke out in 1846. The story repeats itself throughout the sixties—Trekker-Basuto wars, eastern frontier trouble, interference north of the Orange River. The truth is that a Boer could not steal a Boer ox nor a soldier set a soldier without the



The shaded area represents the general distribution of the main bodies of Bantu population between approximately 1835 and 1850. The smaller patches represent scattered settlement.

The arrows indicate the dynamics of the trek movement and the relationship between the forces of white and black settlement. The boundaries are modern.

From De Kiewiet's *History of South Africa* by permission of the Clarendon Press
WHITE AND BLACK SETTLEMENT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

effects being felt far and wide.⁹ The black-white frontier was like an air-filled tyre which, if squeezed in one place, bulges somewhere else. The trouble was that the frontier, although really one frontier, was divided up among different governments with different ideas about dealing with it. This was clearly seen by Sir Harry Smith, the energetic and charming Governor who came to the Cape in 1847. He saw that the storm-centre was the fertile Caledon River valley over which the Basuto and the Trekkers were quarrelling; so he boldly seized the country between the Orange River and the Vaal River (1848) and defeated the opposition at Boomplaats. In doing this, he had captured the Great Trek and made the most difficult part of the black-white frontier British. Six years later the British Government gave up the Orange River Sovereignty (the land Sir Harry Smith had seized) and washed its hands of all South Africa north of the Orange River (Bloemfontein Convention, 1854).^{*} Why did the British thus draw back? In the early days of the Great Trek the British had made a half-hearted attempt to persuade the Trekkers to come back but at that time the feeling was that colonies were more of an expense than they were worth and the British Government did not like spending money on the defence of colonists who, they complained, would not defend themselves. (The Eastern frontier war of 1850—52 was fought mostly by English soldiers and cost nearly a million pounds.) This is why they drew back in 1854 and left South Africa split along the line of the Orange River. What they did not clearly see was that the frontiers of the Cape Colony would never be secure as long as the republics pursued a native policy entirely different from that of the Cape. Whatever the British Government might think, Governors of the Cape always saw that the British *had* to interfere beyond the Orange River. Sir George Grey in 1859 proposed a Federation (loose union) of South African countries and was sharply rapped over the knuckles by the British Government. Fifteen years later the British Government had caught up with the idea and was proposing federation itself.

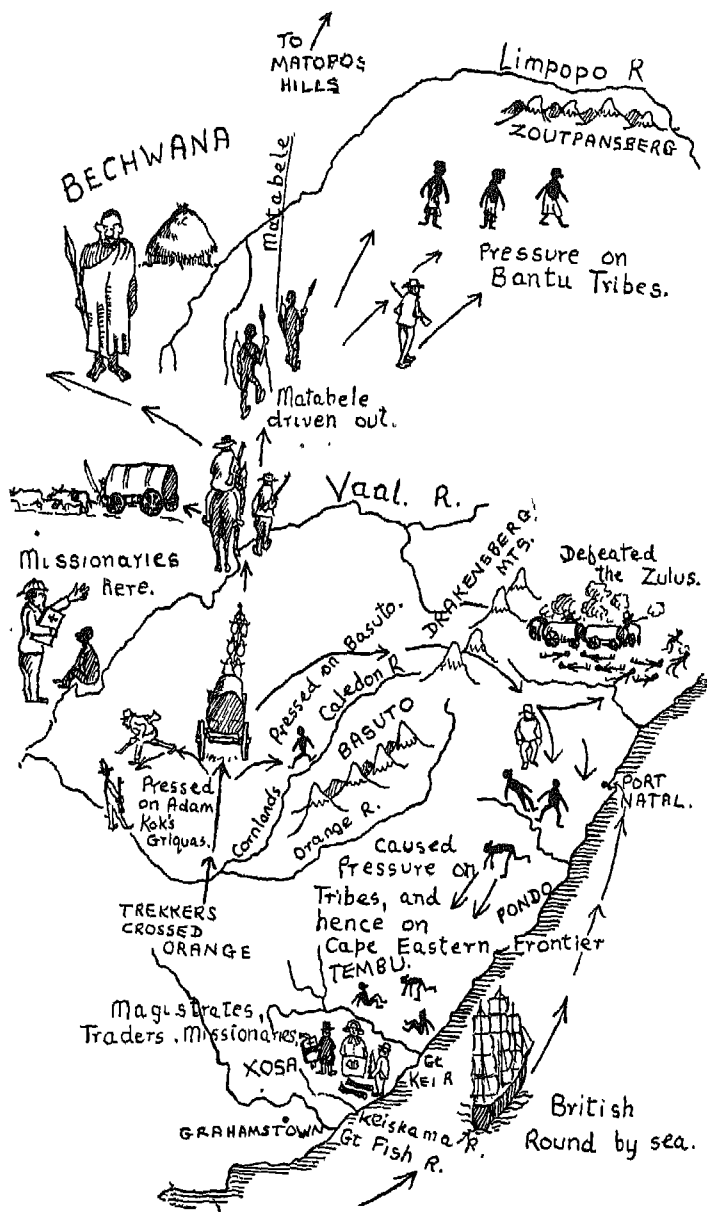
It was certain that the resistance of the Bantu would one day be broken. The end of the frontier story came in 1894, by which time not only the whole of the present Union of South Africa but the whole of Africa south of the Zambesi was in European hands.

The Bantu-European Frontier. Now we must think of *exactly* what was happening along this long black-white frontier. In the Trekker republics, land was swallowed up at a great rate. With the best will in the world the republics could not control their own people because the governments had very little money. They almost gave away land, they could not collect taxes and the Cape Colony and Natal steadily refused to give them a share of the Customs

^{*}In 1852 by the Sand River Convention the British acknowledged the independence of the Trekkers north of the Vaal River.

duties collected at the ports.) Every man had to have a 6,000-acre farm and, to make matters worse, many farms were obtained by 'speculators' (people who hoped to make a profit by selling them later) and lay empty. This speculation was worse in Natal where a white population of 8,000 in 12,500,000 acres once claimed that they could take no more settlers as there was no land for them! Bantu tribesmen living on the land that was seized became 'squatters', that is, they stayed on the farms and paid rent, usually by working for the farmers. When Bantu settlement was thick, as in the case of the Basuto and the Xosa, the tribesmen were driven back by armed force (not without difficulty) and farms carved out over the heads of those that stayed behind as squatters. In the Trekker republics it was believed that the portion of the white man was land and the portion of the black man was work, so that the only thing that stopped their expanding was resistance too strong for them or the boundaries of another European state. The South African Republic (as the Transvaal was called after 1852) met with difficulties in the broken Zoutpansberg country but eventually took its borders up to the Portuguese colony. In the west, the resistance of the Chwana tribes, who were guided by the missionaries Livingstone and Moffat, was strong but it was really the British push to the north in the eighteen-eighties which stopped the South African Republic there. Similarly, there is little reason to doubt that it would have expanded over the Limpopo and challenged the Matabele in the eighteen-nineties if the British had not hemmed it in in that direction. The Orange Free State (so called from 1854) pushed the Basuto back into ever narrower and less fertile lands until the British stopped it by seizing Basutoland in 1868, to prevent it being broken up completely and making the confusion worse. The Griquas in the Orange Free State were squeezed out altogether and moved bodily to Griqualand East in the Cape Colony. The same pushing forward of the frontier can be seen in the Cape from 1847, when Sir Harry Smith took the land up to the Kei River, thus putting an end to the British attempt to control the frontier by treating the chiefs as foreign governments; the new land was called British Kaffraria. There was this difference; some of the captured land was kept as 'reserves' and European magistrates, missionaries and traders were put into them to civilise the Bantu. Sir George Grey went further; he thought that if the Bantu had roads, hospitals, schools and so forth and that if white settlers went in among them and employed them they would become civilised and this would be a good thing. In Natal, reserves were provided but no attempt was made to civilise the people in them. They were ruled by Shepstone as 'Great Chief' and under Bantu law and custom.

In the event, the Bantu were squeezed into lands too small for them. Remember that much land was *necessary* for the way the Bantu lived; land and cattle were what really mattered to them and they were losing land without which they could not keep



THE EXTENSION OF THE EUROPEAN-BANTU FRONTIER

N.B.—The British expedition of 1842 to Natal went overland, though the British generally maintained communication with Natal by sea.

cattle. It is not a coincidence that wars for land always came at the same time as droughts. This desperate hunger for land is shown by the famous Xosa cattle-killing of 1857. A prophetess rose up and told the Xosa that on a certain day they must kill their cattle and burn their crops; then fat cattle and vigorous crops would appear by magic and the old tribal heroes would come back to earth and drive the white men into the sea. As a hungry man dreams of food, so the land-hungry Xosa dreamt of land and cattle; on the appointed day they killed their cattle and burnt their crops. But no heroes came, only starvation. Thousands died and thousands tramped westward into the Cape Colony seeking work, that they might not die. This was a surrender to the new forces that were killing tribal life. So it was with the Basuto, so in the end it was with all the tribes. They had taxes and rents to pay, candles and cotton cloth to buy and nothing to sell but their labour. So, just as the enclosures of eighteenth century England forced small farmers to become labourers, so in southern Africa did the unequal division of the land force Bantu tribesmen to become labourers. They crossed the black-white frontier and were drawn into the civilisation of their conquerors; but, in so doing, they found themselves in what was actually a poor society.

Labour Problems. South Africa was still a poor country; wool was its only important export, the wine industry having fallen on bad days, and wool was not enough to keep South Africa level with the rapid progress of the industrial world. Of course the Bantu labourers had to share this poverty of the people they had joined. From 1850 more and more went out to work; yet there were continual complaints from the European farmers that there was not enough labour. Natal, indeed, with 100,000 Bantu in the country, was so short of labour that in 1860 she brought in Indians to work on the sugar plantations and has regretted it ever since. Why this shortage in the midst of plenty? For one thing, Bantu tribesmen, having always worked in a leisurely way for the tribe, were not in the habit of working as individuals for private gain; nor were there enough farmers with enough money to be able to tempt the labourers to work hard for wages; that is, they had to work to live, but there was nothing to encourage them to become skilful and energetic workers. Worst of all, thousands of Bantu lived on farms where there simply was not enough work, so that they were idle half the year and poor all the year; the farmers would not let them go elsewhere to work, even if they wanted to. Another point to note is that the worsening of reserve lands through soil erosion and bad agriculture led to a worsening of the food supply; the laziness of which the farmers complained was often due to the labourers being half-starved.

By 1867 South Africa was well on the way to becoming a new kind of society—a white-and-black society with European and Bantu fortunes and future inextricably bound up with each

other. It was still a poor society, but in 1867 something happened which changed all that. A child at Hopetown, near the Orange River, looking for pebbles to play with, picked up a diamond.

SOURCE READINGS

1. Extract from the Manifesto of Piet Retief

As we desire to stand high in the estimation of our brethren, be it known *inter alia* that we are resolved wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principle of liberty; but whilst we will take care that no-one shall be in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant. . . . We will not molest any people, nor deprive them of the smallest property; but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects to the utmost of our ability. . . . We propose . . . to make known to the native tribes our intentions, and our desire to live in peace and friendly intercourse with them. . . . We quit this Colony under the full assurance that the English government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without interference in future.

From 'The Grahamstown Journal,' 1837.

Questions

1. What did Retief mean by "proper relations between master and servant"?
2. Why could not the frontiersmen preserve "proper relations between master and servant" in the Colony?
3. Was the undertaking not to "molest any people, nor deprive them of the smallest property" kept?
4. Was the belief that the English government would "allow us to govern ourselves without interference in future" justified?
5. Find out the connection between Questions 3 and 4 and write a short essay on it.

2. Speech of Sir George Grey to the Cape Parliament, March 17th, 1859

I have received from the government of the Orange Free State a request that I would ascertain whether you would be inclined to promote, as far as lies in your power, a federal union with that state Your present session would afford a convenient opportunity, in connection with this application of the Free State government, for considering the whole question of the possibility of uniting the several portions of South Africa under some common government.

Under such a form of government, a number of the inhabitants in each province would be trained to take general views upon the highest subjects relating to the general welfare. No war could

be entered upon but with the consent of the general government representing all the provinces. If any dispute arose between any of the provinces and a native chief, the demands made upon such chief would be most probably just ones, for they would be considered by a large and impartial body, and they would, from this cause, and from the known power of the federation by which they were made, command respect.

Under such system it may, I think, be reasonably expected that additional security would be obtained throughout all South Africa for life and property; that the greatest confidence would be reposed in the decisions of the courts of justice constituted by the general government; that an additional stimulus and encouragement would be given to talent, by the openings offered to it in the senate, on the judicial bench, or at the bar; that increased facilities would be given to trade and commerce, by uniformity of insolvent laws and laws regulating bills of exchange, as also of judicial decisions relating to mercantile causes.

Prosperity and contentment would also follow from a fair proportionate application, throughout the whole of South Africa, of the general customs revenues, to which all alike contribute, whilst a great increase in the revenues would follow from the stimulus given to trade and industry by peace and prosperity, so that the very province, or provinces, which might abandon a share of the whole revenues they now enjoy, might reasonably hope to gain more than they gave up.

At present, South Africa, broken up into various European and native states, some of which are almost without revenues, without firm governments, and are involved in intestine and foreign disputes, appears to be drifting into an uncertain and gloomy future, to provide against the exigencies of which it is in a great degree powerless, whilst under a good system of federation, the inhabitants of the southern part of this continent would be able to unite for their common interests and defence, and to provide, year by year, for the exigencies of the country as these might arise.

Questions

1. Who was Sir George Grey?
2. Make a list of the advantages of federation which he mentions.
3. What was the attitude of the British government to Sir George Grey's speech?
4. Read this speech again after you have read Chapters V and VI. Point out what might have been avoided if people had listened to Sir George Grey.

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1836—The Great Trek started
- 1842—The British captured Natal.
- 1848—The British captured the Orange River Sovereignty.
- 1852—The British recognised the independence of the Transvaal (Sand River Convention).

1854—The British recognised the independence of the Orange Free State (Bloemfontein Convention).

1857—The Xosa cattle-killing.

1859—First railway in South Africa.

1867—The first diamond was found.

TIME CHART

Continue your Time Chart from 1835 under these headings:—
Europeans and Bantu British and Dutch.

EXERCISES

- A. 1. **Problem** (to be attempted before the chapter is read). Consider the state of affairs on the eastern frontier of the Cape about 1834 and consider the discontent of the frontier farmers. If they decide they can stand it no longer, where can they go?
2. **Problem** (to be attempted before reading the paragraph headed "The Bantu-European Frontier"). The Europeans, being the stronger race, take much of the Bantu land. What is likely to be the effect (a) on Bantu whose land is taken over their heads, (b) on Bantu who are squeezed into 'reserves' too small to support them, assuming that there is no fighting?
3. Find out and write down as many of the causes of the Great Trek as you can.
- B. 4. Describe the character of the Cape frontiersmen.
5. Draw pictures of a man and a woman of the Cape frontier.
6. Draw a picture of a trek waggon.
7. You have been travelling about the Cape frontier. Write a detailed account of the people you met there and of your experiences in general.
8. Tell shortly the story of Louis Trigardt's trek.
9. Write an account of the Battle of Vegkop.
10. Draw a picture of the Battle of Vegkop.
11. Find out if any of your ancestors went on the Great Trek. If you know any stories of their experiences at that time, tell them to the class.
- A. 12. Copy the map on page 75 and explain it.
13. Explain the problem of the frontier between European and Bantu after the Great Trek and discuss the attitude of the British Government towards it.
14. Tell the story of the Xosa cattle-killing and explain its significance.
15. Explain why there seemed not to be enough farm labourers in South Africa in the eighteen-sixties in spite of the fact that there were thousands of Bantu unable to find the means to live in the 'reserves'. Explain why farmers commonly found their labourers lazy and inefficient.

TEST QUESTIONS

- A. 1 Why is the trek which started in 1836 called the *Great Trek*?
2. (a) Which Trek leader was killed by Dingaan?
(b) Which defeated the Zulu at Blood River?
3. Where did the Matabele go after they were driven out of the western Transvaal?
4. State shortly what were the consequences of the Great Trek.
5. Why did the British capture Natal in 1842?
6. Name two peoples who lived just north of the Orange River when the Trekkers went there.
7. Why did the Trekker republics have so little money?
8. What happened to Bantu who remained on land occupied by Europeans?
9. What did Sir George Grey think would civilise the Bantu?
10. Why was South Africa a poor country before 1870?
- B. 1. Give the meanings of the following words:
kappie, moleskin, duffel, *disselboom*, *trek touw*, *voorloper*, pedlar, tactics, apprentice.
2. What were the most precious possessions of a Cape frontiersman?
3. How were the children of the Cape frontier taught and what did they learn?
4. What things brought the Cape frontier people together in spite of the loneliness of their lives?
5. Who led the two Trek parties that went out in 1836 and later joined up? Where did they stop?
6. What was the only hope the Matabele and Zulu ever had of defeating a European enemy?
7. What did the defenders of Vegkop lose?
8. What was the immediate result of the quarrels among the Trekkers in 1837?
9. In what ways was 1838 a bad year for the Natal Trekkers?
10. How is the battle of Blood River celebrated in South Africa?
11. How was the Zulu power broken (at least for 40 years)?

' BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

The Cambridge History of the British Empire: Vol. VIII, Chapters XIV and XVI.

E. A. Walker—The Great Trek.

E. A. Walker—A History of South Africa, Chapters VIII to X.

De Kiewiet—A History of South Africa, Chapter III.

Francis Brett Young—They Seek a Country.

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN EXPANSION ON THE BANTU



1. Bantu possess the land



2. Europeans occupy the land.

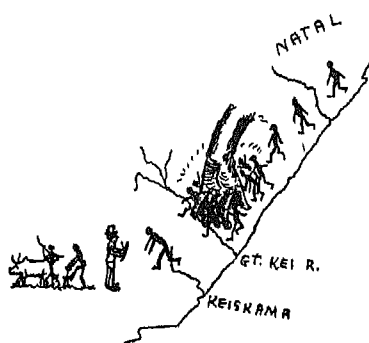


3. Bantu remain on land and work for Europeans



4. Bantu still use land and own cattle.

Squatting



Reserves



Poverty



The Xosa Cattle-killing

CHAPTER FIVE

DIAMONDS AND GOLD

In the years 1867—1902 the Europeans and the Bantu continued to become interlocked with each other. Indeed the interlocking was hurried up by the growth of new industries and the spread of European government which was made complete by the capture of Mashonaland and Matabeleland. But during these years this side of South African history was in the background; in the foreground we have the discovery of diamonds and gold and a growing quarrel between the two sections of Europeans, British and Dutch, which eventually flared up into a full-sized war.

Survey

DIAMONDS

The finding of diamonds was a tremendously important thing for southern Africa; the export of wool had never been great enough to enable it to keep up with the modern industrial world. Diamonds changed all that; in less than four years from the picking up of the first diamond more white people flocked to the diamond fields than had gone on the Great Trek; in less than seventy years £320,000,000 worth of diamonds were found in South Africa. With rapid strides it hurried to take its place in the modern world.

Most of the diamonds were found in a dry, unfertile region thinly inhabited by Griquas to whom officially most of it belonged. It was, of course, out of the question for the Griquas to continue to rule it and there was a long wrangle among the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, the South African Republic (Transvaal) and the British Government about whose land it really was. In the event it became a British territory and in the end a part of the Cape Colony.

Of much greater importance, however, was the effect of the sudden appearance of a great industry on the white people and the black people and on the relations between the two. Two streams of people converged on Kimberley, the centre of the diamond fields, and the black stream came because it must. No doubt many Bantu came to earn money to buy guns and brandy, but most came because their old tribal way of life had been broken and a man must live somehow. So, the Bantu came into the industrial life of Europeans and the first step was taken towards

turning tribesmen into town-dwelling workmen. The Bantu had nothing to sell but their muscles, so from the very beginning they were unskilled labourers and nothing else. As the Trekkers held that the white man's portion was land and the black man's was labour, so the diamond diggers insisted that the white man's portion was skilled work and the black man's unskilled. This was not simply the result of colour feeling but came about through the very great difference between the energetic, skilful and ambitious white employers and the raw and ignorant black labourers. This sharp division of the kinds of work done was continued when the hundreds of small diamond claims* came into the hands of large companies. This came about when the mines became deeper and falls of earth and floods of water made it impossible for each claim to be worked separately. Diamond mining came to need expensive machinery and careful organisation. Here was the opportunity of clever business men like Cecil Rhodes, Alfred Beit and Barney Barnato. Before 1890 one gigantic company, De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited, Rhodes's company, controlled all the diamond mining in South Africa. To the great companies cheap labour was as great an advantage as it had been to the small diggers. This question of cheap labour is of great importance in the history of South African industry; we shall come back to it in a later chapter.

Supplement

THE DIAMOND FIELDS

"A cloud of fine, almost impalpable dust, a variety of unspeakable stench, the carcasses of oxen and horses, heaps of refuse, shanties made of gunny-bags and old biscuit tins, companies of almost naked Kafirs, singing as they marched with knoberry on shoulder, tilted wagons with long spans of oxen, miners in jackboots, corduroy trousers and blue shirts, hills of grey-blue spoil, and then streets lined with shanties of matchwood and corrugated iron, full of Gentiles and Jews from all parts of the earth."¹⁰

This was the vivid picture which greeted the senses of the thousands who tumbled off the ships on to the Cape Town wharves and made their way up country as fast as mule coaches could take them. They were of all sorts—London Jews, American and Australian diggers, Europeans of every nation, Englishmen of all classes. To swell the multitude there were South Africans of every kind, from Free State farmers to Port Elizabeth clerks. All were drawn to

*A claim was a piece of land 31 feet by 31 feet within which its holder could dig for diamonds.



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

XIII OUTSPAN

A typical wayside scene of a family on trek



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

XIV A SHORT HALT

A scene of the Kaffir War of 1850



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

XV CAPE TOWN 1860



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

XVI EARLY KIMBERLEY

This was the appearance of the diamond mines when Rhodes first went to Kimberley.



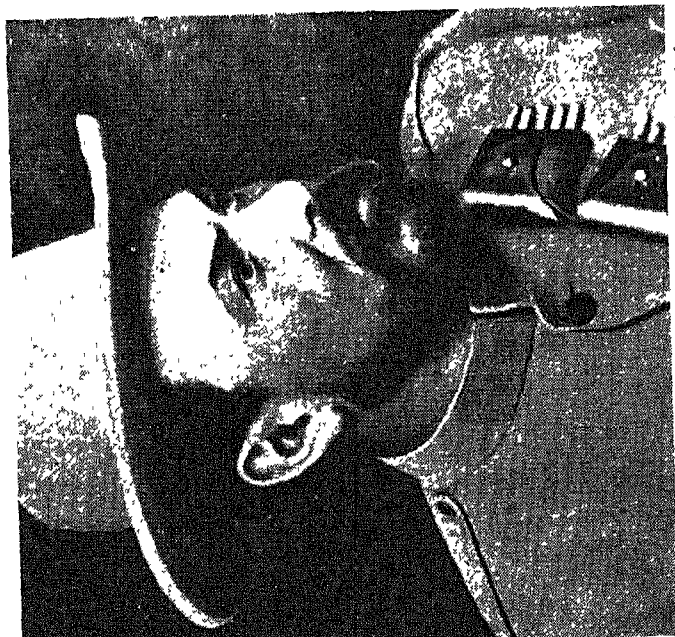
[Reproduced by permission of the Africana Museum, Johannesburg.]

XVII. CECIL JOHN RHODES



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

XVIII PRESIDENT KRUGER



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives

XIX GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA



[Reproduced by permission of the Afrikaanse Pers-Boekhandel

XX. GENERAL SMUTS ABOUT 1906



[Reproduced by permission of the Public Relations Dept of S Rhodesia]

XXI RUINS OF GREAT ZIMBABWE

the diggings like iron filings to a magnet; some wanted adventure, some wanted a new start in life, most wanted to get rich quickly.

The first diggings were the 'river diggings' on the Vaal River but much bigger were the 'dry diggings', amongst which was the huge Kimberley Mine, eventually to become 'the biggest hole in the world'. At first the Kimberley Mine consisted of a large number of separate claims. Fourteen

roadways were marked out to allow diggers to reach their claims. Soon the claims became deep holes, the roadways were left as causeways and the mine took on the appearance of a huge grille. Then the roads began to crumble and slip; they were dug away and the mine became a huge hole. By this time it was impossible to dig the earth out by hand, so cableways were led to the edge of the mine, which now looked like a vast cobweb. Diamond digging became too expensive for a man with spades and buckets and a gang of labourers, so that claims were lumped together until the whole mine and eventually all the diamond mines of South Africa belonged to one company.

In the early days each digger sat at a rough table to which the stones which his labourers had dug and sieved were brought. He carefully examined the stones on the table and picked out the diamonds. Men known as 'kopje wallopers' walked round with scales, bought the diamonds from the diggers and then sold them to diamond dealers. Of course, the object of the 'kopje walloper' was to buy the diamonds as cheaply as possible

and sell them for as much as possible. It was not uncommon for a 'kopje walloper' to sell a diamond for twice as much



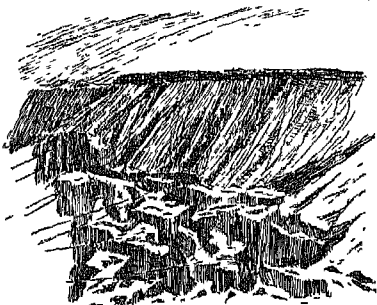
Kimberley Mine, 1872



Roads in Kimberley Mine, 1872

as he had paid for it ten minutes after he bought it. It was easy for the labourers to steal the diamonds and sell them themselves; to prevent this only the recognised diamond dealers were allowed to buy diamonds. Anyone else doing so was guilty of Illicit Diamond Buying (I.D.B.) and liable to be imprisoned for it.

Near the mines grew up bedraggled towns of tents and wood-and-iron houses. They grew at colossal speed; Kimberley, a year after the rush began, had more people than any other town in South Africa outside Cape Town. It had two churches, a hospital, a theatre and probably as many bars as the whole of the rest of South Africa put together. Life was as rough and exciting as in any new mining town but much more orderly than in the turbulent American mining settlements. One thing that could always be bought cheaply at an auction sale was a revolver.



Kimberley Mine, 1874

Among the people who collected at Kimberley in the eighteen-seventies were several whose names figured largely in the history of the next thirty years. One of these was Cecil John Rhodes.

Cecil Rhodes. Cecil Rhodes was the son of an English clergyman. In 1870 he went to Natal for the sake of his health. He joined his brother there growing cotton but they soon gave that up and went to the diamond fields. Cecil Rhodes in those days was 'a tall, fair boy, blue-eyed, aquiline-featured, in ill-washed, shrunken white flannels'.¹¹ He worked on his brother's claims, bought an engine and pumped out flood water on contract and even made and sold ice-cream; especially, he bought and sold claims. He certainly made money; when he was only eighteen, he was able to write to his mother, 'I average about £100 a week'.

In 1873 he went to England and to Oxford University. He spent the next few years partly at Oxford leading the life of an ordinary undergraduate and partly at Kimberley leading the life of a business man. At Kimberley he did not lead the wild, drunken life that so many did, but he liked company and was one of a group of young men who lived and talked together.

Among these were Leander Starr Jameson, Alfred Beit, C. D. Rudd and Rochfort Maguire, all of whom played a great part in Rhodes's life and the founding of Rhodesia. Cecil Rhodes was delicate in health and he knew it. In 1877 he made a will, a most astonishing will. He was quite certain that the best people in the world were the British and that nothing could be better for the rest of the world than to be ruled by the British. In this will he left the fortune he had not yet made for 'the establishment of a Secret Society, the aim and object whereof shall be the extension of British rule throughout all the world, the perfecting of a system of emigration from the United Kingdom and of colonisation by British subjects of all lands where the means of livelihood are attainable by energy, labour and enterprise, and especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the valley of the Euphrates, the islands of Cyprus and Candia, the whole of South America, the islands of the Pacific not heretofore possessed by Great Britain, the whole of the Malay Archipelago, the sea-board of China and Japan, the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire . . . and finally the foundation of so great a power as hereafter to render wars impossible and promote the best interests of humanity'. Such was the ambition of this young man of twenty-four with a fortune still to make! Africa was to be his own special task; without knowing this we cannot understand the energy and single-mindedness with which he tackled the great work in front of him. In 1881 he became a Member of the Cape Parliament; he was already a very wealthy business man. Later we shall see how he fared as a politician.

Alfred Beit. *Alfred Beit was the son of a Jewish merchant of Hamburg in Germany. He went into the diamond business in Amsterdam and was sent by his firm to South Africa. In 1875 he arrived in Kimberley to buy diamonds, which he did at first by walking round the claims and later in a little canvas office. He was a small, good-looking man, popular and keen on riding and dancing. Like Rhodes, he began to buy and sell claims and land; he found that he had a gift for understanding the use of money in business and he became a very clever business man and a very rich one. He was one of Rhodes's friends and admirers, helped him with money for big schemes and looked after his money affairs when Rhodes was busy with political matters. He was unselfish, generous and hospitable. He did not want the fame that Rhodes*

enjoyed; he liked better to be the power behind the scenes. Without him Rhodes would not have been able to do what he did. Alfred Beit will never be forgotten, thanks to the bursaries, bridges, school halls and libraries in Rhodesia, on which his money was spent after his death in 1906.

Dr. Jameson. Leander Starr Jameson was a Scot and already a successful London doctor when he decided to go to Kimberley. This was in 1878 and he was twenty-five years old: a rather small, keen and charming young man. He was a good doctor and his joyous, devil-may-care manner soon made him one of the most popular men in Kimberley. 'The Doctor' was prominent in the social life of the town, gave dances and played poker, a game of which he was very fond. He came to know Rhodes and from 1886 they shared a house together. There was a very great friendship between them, so great that when Jameson's deeds brought ruin to Rhodes, Rhodes freely forgave him. Jameson was a doctor and not particularly interested in politics, but such was Rhodes's power to persuade that three years after they began sharing a house Jameson was Rhodes's man and was giving up the comparative comfort of Kimberley for the flies and smells of Lobengula's kraal and the trials and troubles of ruling a new country. Rhodes must have infected Jameson with his enthusiasm. The writer of Jameson's life has imagined 'the sitting-room of the bungalow, the table after dinner, Jameson smoking his endless chain of cigarettes, Rhodes rolling in his chair like a whale in deep seas . . . the talk was of the North—the North—the North!'¹² With Dr. Jameson's work in the founding of Rhodesia and the startling Jameson Raid we shall deal elsewhere.

Barney Barnato. Another notable figure on the diamond fields was Barney Barnato, whose real name was Barnett Isaacs. Born of Jewish parents in London, Barney Barnato came to Kimberley with forty boxes of cigars and an ambition to make money. He started as a 'kopje walloper' and ended as a millionaire. Like Rhodes and Beit, he bought and sold claims until he controlled most of the Kimberley Mine as Rhodes controlled most of the De Beers Mine. Both wanted to control *all* the diamonds and in the 'money war' which followed Rhodes defeated Barnato and Rhodes's company *did* control all the diamonds. When the two companies were joined, Rhodes wanted to be able to use the profits for building railways and founding new countries. Barnato did not agree but after arguing all night he gave in with the words, "Some

people have a fancy for this thing and some for that; you have a fancy for making an Empire. Well, I suppose I must give it to you."

Survey

THE FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

We saw in the last chapter how the British Government wavered for thirty years between taking control of the whole of South Africa and leaving the Dutch republics to their own devices. After 1866 it became clear that the British would not be able to



"The diamond fields affected the whole of South Africa."

turn their backs on the country north of the Orange River. The discovery of diamonds made this doubly clear because the diamond fields affected the whole of South Africa. The British still wanted to be freed from the expense of defending South Africa; they feared they never would be as long as the republics in the interior were able to

do what they liked about their Bantu neighbours. So the British planned a South Africa with all its states joined in a federation and capable of defending and governing itself. In their minds British statesmen were groping for something like the state of affairs when the Union of South Africa was formed. We shall see what a long road had to be travelled before that was reached.

Carnarvon's Federation Plan. The first step was to allow the Cape Colony to become completely self-governing in 1872. The second step was a suggestion by Lord Carnarvon, British Colonial Secretary, that federation should be discussed. He made this suggestion in 1875, after he had become convinced how necessary it was by an affair arising out of the diamond fields. A Natal chief was unlawfully punished because he had refused to hand over guns brought by his people from the diamond fields. The whole affair showed not only how bad was the Natal practice of putting Bantu in reserves and *not* civilising them but still more how impossible it was for South Africa to continue with different 'native policies' in different parts.

When the Cape Colony would have nothing to do with Carnarvon's idea of federation he seized the Transvaal (1877), hoping to start building the federation, so to speak, from the other end. The Transvaal was very poor indeed, was having the greatest difficulty in keeping quiet the tribes in its north-eastern corner, and was said by Shepstone to be in some danger of attack by the Zulu. The annexation of the Transvaal was actually carried out by Shepstone, who made the grave mistakes of overestimating

the amount of support he had in the Transvaal and of failing to obtain from the Volksraad a clear decision for or against the annexation. The British seizure of the Transvaal *might* have brought about the federation of South Africa but they were over eager to make changes and the Transvalers objected so strongly that in 1881 they expelled the British soldiers and severely defeated a British force at Majuba. This war is generally called the First Transvaal War of Independence; sometimes, the First Boer War. Thus, the first attempt to federate South Africa failed and disunion ruled once more. Worse, for the prospects of unity, a new spirit of Afrikaner patriotism had been born in the Transvaal. The vigorous reaction of the Transvalers was partly the ancient Trekker grudge against the British and partly the righteous anger of a people, exceptionally independent in their outlook, at being deprived of their political freedom. Deep down, it was the resistance of a people living a simple, unhurried life to the bustle and rush of the modern industrial world. In 1881 the British signed an agreement called the Pretoria Convention by which they accepted the fact that the Transvaal was an independent state, but the Transvaal undertook not to make treaties with foreign powers and not to make laws concerning natives without consulting the British Government first.

The Zulu War. In the eighteen-seventies the Zulu were again a powerful and dangerous people; they were ruled by Panda's son Cetewayo, an aggressive, ruthless and intelligent chief. The British believed that there was considerable danger of a general war in South Africa between Europeans and Bantu and that Cetewayo was deliberately stirring up trouble to this end. Furthermore, it seemed, as in 1893 it was to seem to the people of Mashonaland, that there could be no peace so long as a savage and blood-thirsty people were on their borders. Therefore, in 1879, a British force attacked the Zulu and completely destroyed their military power.

Survey

THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

The Germans. The British soon found that in shuffling off the Transvaal they had in fact only plunged deeper into the mill-race of South African affairs. In 1883 the Germans seized South-West Africa. This was a great shock to the British Government which had always considered South Africa its own concern, and South African quarrels to be family quarrels. Now it appeared that not only was South Africa being drawn into the modern industrial world but it was also being drawn into the world of European politics, a world of nations just beginning the hectic 'scramble for Africa'. There was nothing for it but to join in too, so British ideas changed once again.

Bechuanaland. The chance came in 1882 when Transvaal

farmers had occupied land to the west of the Transvaal, around Mafeking. Cecil Rhodes, a Member of the Cape Parliament and a rising force in South African affairs, was the first to see that the famous "Missionaries' Road" to the interior of Africa would be blocked to the British. This road runs between the Transvaal and the Kalahari Desert. Once before the Transvaal had seized it and had been hustled off it. Rhodes thought that the best part of southern Africa was the high plateau of the interior and he meant to see that the Transvaal did not block the road to it. Urged by Rhodes, the British Government took over Bechuanaland, including the parts recently occupied by Transvaal farmers (1884). It was from this time that Rhodes's thoughts turned to the idea of an all-British route from the Cape to Cairo and the scheme for seizing the land north of the Limpopo River and Bechuanaland began to take shape in his mind.

Hopes of Unity. Bad as was the feeling between the Transvaal and the British in 1885, yet there were signs that unity was possible. The Transvaal was poor and weak; in 1885 Kruger, President of the Transvaal, offered to allow the Cape-Kimberley railway to be continued into the Transvaal and to drop Customs duties between the Transvaal and the Cape. Here was a chance which Rhodes had long fought for, but the Cape Government turned it down. The next year it was too late. The Transvaal, having been the Cinderella of South Africa for so long, was suddenly set on the road to being the rich relation. The reason was that in 1885 on the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal the greatest gold-mines of all history were found.

Survey

GOLD

The Witwatersrand goldfield is the biggest in the world in area, depth and quantity of ore. The ore is uniform, that is, there is no danger of a sudden discovery that there is no more gold. But it is important to remember that the actual amount of gold per ton of ore crushed, is low compared with the gold mines of, say, California or Australia. These facts lead up to two more: (1) If mining is going to be made to pay it must be done economically; it needs machinery, careful organisation and cheap labour. (2) The industry which gold mining quickly became is not here to-day and gone tomorrow. There will be no forlorn, abandoned mining towns on the Rand. All these things were not realised at first, of course, but we must bear them in mind when we see how this amazing discovery affected the Transvaal and South Africa.

Its effect on the Transvaal was quite staggering; thousands of people, mostly English, flocked into it as fast as waggons, mules and horses could take them. Huge business organisations, using the skill and experience and money that diamond mining had

built up, took root there. Black labourers trudged there from every part of South Africa. In fact, a stagnant colonial region had suddenly 'exploded into activity'.¹³ For every new thing which diamond mining had brought to South Africa, the gold mines brought a dozen. This hurrying, scurrying, money-making new world leaped into the midst of a people to whom life was 'as the slow dust of a neighbour's waggon on the horizon'. We have seen that once already the Transvaal had resisted an invasion and that there had come into being a vigorous patriotism. Kruger employed German and Hollander officials and these encouraged him to keep the Transvaal as separate as possible from the rest of South Africa, and the new wealth of the state gave it the whip hand. Opposed to Kruger was Rhodes who thought that South Africa would be most prosperous and peaceful if all its parts were joined together in one self-governing dominion. Rhodes therefore worked for this; it was probably one of the reasons why in 1890-93 he captured Mashonaland and Matabeleland, thus hemming in the Transvaal on the north. Rhodes wanted South Africa to be united and ruled by South Africans and was anxious to keep the British Government out of it. He did not have to worry much about this at first as the British Government did not want at all to be drawn into a quarrel with the Transvaal. After some years of quarrelling about railways, customs duties and ports, Kruger in 1895 invited the Germans to help him in a scheme for getting a Transvaal port on the east coast. This provoked the British Government into saying that South African affairs were the affairs of Great Britain and of no-one else outside Africa. Thus the British Government found itself faced with the problem of bringing about South African unity. The problem would be solved if the Transvaalers could be made to see that, whether they liked it or not, the gold mines were South African mines and not just Transvaal mines. Before anything could be done the chances of friendship between the British and the Transvaal, already slight, were killed by one of the most foolish escapades in history, the Jameson Raid.

The Jameson Raid. It was not pure chance that the trouble which led to the Jameson Raid came in 1895. By this time the two facts mentioned on page 93 were known and understood. The first was that if the mines were to pay they must be worked economically; but there was much to prevent this in the way of high taxes, monopolies, high customs duties and high railway rates—all things which could be put right if South Africa were one country. Note that at the time all the blame for these was placed on the Transvaal, whereas it should have been placed on the Cape and Natal as well. Furthermore, Kruger's mining policy, though obviously disliked by the mining companies, compelled them to mine as efficiently and economically as possible and established firmly the idea that the gold in the earth was to benefit the many people and not the few mine-owners and their distant shareholders. The second fact was that the mines had a long life; this meant

that the thousands of strangers who had flocked to the new city of Johannesburg on the Witwatersrand intended to stay. But they were evidently not welcome; the Transvalers were in mortal fear of being swamped in their own country by crowds of foreigners. Therefore they did not allow these *uitlanders* to vote except on very hard terms. It is easy to blame them for being narrow and backward, but what else could they do? Their beloved way of life, for which their fathers had trekked from the Cape Colony and for which they had fought the British in 1881, was threatened once again. What perhaps they did not see was that the Industrial Revolution had overtaken the Transvaal and *nothing* could turn it back. Of course the *uitlanders* objected very strongly to the contemptuous way in which Kruger and his citizens treated them. With the assistance of Rhodes, then Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, they planned a revolt, which was to be backed up by a force of Rhodesian police to be brought over the border by Rhodes's friend, Dr. Jameson. When the appointed day came the revolt did not even start, but Dr. Jameson and his men rode into the Transvaal and were ignominiously captured by a Transvaal commando.

The Results of the Jameson Raid. The results of the Jameson Raid were appalling. Rhodes was disgraced and had to give up his position of Prime Minister at the Cape. In the Cape Colony the friendship between English and Dutch, which had been growing through the work of Rhodes and J. H. Hofmeyr, was broken. The Orange Free State, where Afrikaner patriotism was not so strong as in the Transvaal and which had been closer to the coast colonies in every way, now became closely linked with the Transvaal. All over South Africa, English and Afrikaners growled at each other. The British Government sent Sir Alfred Milner, a clever statesman, to try to make a peaceful settlement but hope of that was gone and events moved rapidly towards open war.

The South African War. The war which broke out in 1899 between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State on the one hand and Great Britain on the other was caused, broadly, by two things. First, it is obvious that the gold mines and all the complications ~~connected with them~~ led to the war. For this reason it is true to say that the British Government was helping the owners of the mines. But there was more to it than that; the British Government was trying to complete what it had been clumsily and unsuccessfully groping after for years—the unity of South Africa.

Supplement

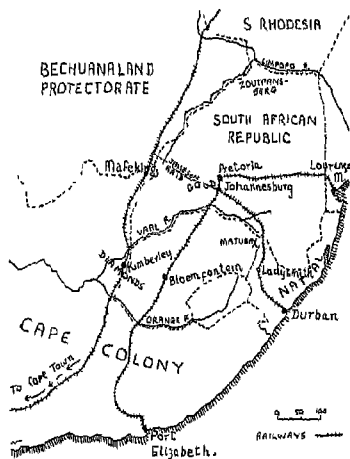
THE JAMESON RAID

The Jameson plan was that the *uitlanders* in Johannesburg should revolt and seize the armoury at Pretoria and that Jameson should then ride in with an armed force to help

them. The British High Commissioner in Cape Town was then to hurry to the Transvaal and make peace. Rhodes hoped that the Transvaal would be persuaded to put right the complaints of the *uitlanders* and allow free trade with the other South African countries: This, he hoped, would in the end lead to federation.

Preparations were made in Johannesburg and outside the Transvaal. Rifles and money were sent to Johannesburg by Rhodes and Beit, the rifles secretly, in cases of mining machinery. Jameson needed a jumping-off place for his force and Rhodesia was too far away. Rhodes, therefore, asked the British Government for a strip of Bechuanaland for the purpose of building a railway to Bulawayo. This was granted and Jameson took there a force of the Mashonaland Mounted Police; in addition he was allowed to recruit some men of the Bechuanaland Border Police which was being disbanded. They were encamped at Pitsani Potlugo near the Transvaal border and not far from Mafeking.

When the appointed day drew near the *uitlanders* began to disagree among themselves whether they should keep the Transvaal a republic or make it British. Because of this they postponed the rising and Jameson was told not to move. At no time had it ever been proposed that Jameson should ride into the Transvaal *before* the Johannesburg revolt started; yet that is what he did, thinking that his action would force the *uitlanders* to rise. Rhodes, who was at Cape Town, sent a telegram ordering him not to start but the wire to Mafeking had already been cut and some hours after Jameson had started, Rhodes, in despair, was saying, "Jameson has ruined me and wrecked my life's work". Jameson was impatient and sure of his own success (was he not famous for his conquest of the Matabele?), so he 'took the bit between his teeth', told his men what they were going to do and at nightfall on December 29th, 1895, 511 men crossed the border



on the way to Johannesburg. Jameson had in his pocket a letter from the *uitlanders* claiming that 'thousands of un-armed men, women and children of our race will be at the mercy of well-armed Boers' and inviting him to the rescue. The letter had been given to him in November and he now dated it December 20th. The force rode hard for three days, Jameson ignoring orders from the British High Commissioner to turn back. On January 1st, 1896, they were at Krugersdorp and being harried by Transvaal commandos. On January 2nd they were surrounded and had no alternative but to surrender.

Meanwhile in Johannesburg the *uitlanders*, taken by surprise, tried to start the revolt; it was a complete failure and Kruger arrested the leaders. Kruger was thus victorious. The *uitlander* leaders were heavily fined (four of them were condemned to death but let off with fines of £25,000 each) and the reforms they wanted were put off still further. Rhodes and Beit paid the fines. The Raiders were handed over to the British Government, tried for making war on a friendly state and imprisoned for a short time. In London they were treated as popular heroes in spite of their crime, this was largely because the Emperor of Germany had sent Kruger a telegram of congratulation which was as good as a challenge to Great Britain.

Supplement

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR: 1899—1902

Although this war seems now a very small and mild affair, it was the first 'modern' war and was as different from, say, the Franco-Prussian War as the Second World War (1939-45) was from it. "Khaki, mobile six-inch guns, machine-guns and one-pounder pom-poms, field trenches and barbed wire, finely-sighted clip-loading rifles with a long and flat trajectory, all made the last great European campaigns of the 'seventies seem positively eighteenth-century affairs".¹⁴

The war is of great interest to soldiers on account of the great difference between the armies, the vast empty spaces which were the battlegrounds and the difficulty of communications. The country suited the Boers because they were used to it and their way of fighting was adapted to it. They were fine marksmen, well-armed with Mauser rifles; they fought as mounted infantry, that is, they fought on foot and moved on horses. They had a small quantity of artillery and no

chance of getting any more. They were almost all citizen volunteers with elected officers and not tied by military discipline, which meant that they could come and go between their homes and the battlefields more or less as they wanted to. Above all, they were filled with patriotism and the desperation of men literally fighting for their homes. From first to last they were able to put 87,000 men in the field. The British army was a highly trained, professional army. It had excellent cavalry and field artillery, but the greater part of it was infantry, mostly townsmen from England with little skill on the veld. This army had had no experience of actual war. The British put into the field altogether 450,000 men, including 30,000 colonial volunteers and 52,000 men raised in South Africa.

Neither army had good commanders and staffs at the beginning of the war; this was less of a disadvantage to the Boers as their numbers were small and their supplies close at hand while the British had to bring everything up from the coast. Neither side employed native troops, though both sides made some use of them as spies. There were, however, marauding bands of armed natives, who made use of the disturbed conditions to rob and murder. The British had the feeling of the world against them; even in England there were many who thought the war wrong and did not hesitate to say so. Unfortunately for the Boers, the people of Europe and America who were so shocked at the war and so sorry for the Boers were either unwilling or unable to give them any practical help in the shape of arms and money.

When the war began in October, 1899, there were few British troops in South Africa and the Boers advanced into Natal where they besieged Ladysmith and into the Cape where they besieged Kimberley and Mafeking. They also crossed the Orange River and were joined by some thousands of Cape Afrikaners. General Buller then arrived with more troops and began an advance into the interior which was repulsed by the Boers everywhere. This was "Black Week" (December, 1899) and gave the British a rude shock. Buller was replaced by Lord Roberts, with Kitchener as his chief-of-staff, and more troops were sent. During 1900, Lord Roberts relieved Kimberley and Mafeking and captured Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Pretoria. The Boers retreated into the mountains of the north-eastern Transvaal and Kruger went to Europe to try to whip up some help. The war was thought to be at an end, but the situation was misunderstood. The Boers had been driven from their towns but they were by no

means defeated. They no longer fought as an organised army but in separate commandos, which were in fact guerilla bands. These commandos were very well led and very mobile, so much so that Kitchener, who had been left in charge, was unable to hold the important parts of South Africa with 200,000 men. During 1901, commandos under leaders such as de la Rey, Botha, Smuts, Hertzog, Steyn and de Wet ranged far and wide, attacking communications, harrying the British and effectively preventing Milner in his work of restoring order in South Africa. The war during this period was more bitter and destructive than it had been before. The British guarded the railways with block-houses and barbed wire and then combed the country with mounted infantry. Boer guerillas captured in these "drives" were shipped off to Ceylon or St. Helena or the Bermudas as prisoners of war. At the same time the British burnt the farm-houses to prevent the guerillas using them as hide-outs and bases of supply. As the Boers wore no uniform it was easy for them to split up after a raid and return to their farms; British soldiers looking for guerillas would find innocent farmers. The burning of farm-houses was thought to be the only way to finish off the war quickly and was thus looked upon by the British as "military necessity". The unfortunate owners of the farms naturally thought it a piece of ruthless and stupid cruelty.

The Concentration Camps. When the farms were burnt the women and children were "concentrated," that is, brought together in camps. The camps were often in unsuitable places and most of them were very badly organised. Hundreds of women and children would be packed on trains of open trucks and then would arrive at a camp which was too small for them or not ready. The supply of milk and meat was rarely enough and the movement of supplies was often stopped by attacks on the railways. Much the worst thing about the camps was the very high death-rate due to measles and the pneumonia and bronchitis which followed it. These were particularly dangerous because of the cold, the crowding of the people into tents and the shortage of medicine. 26,000 Boer women and children died in the concentration camps. Towards the end of the war, under the guidance of Milner, the camps were much better but what had been done could not be undone and the camps left behind a hatred for the British which is not yet dead. To the Afrikaners, the Concentration Camps, and indeed the whole farm-burning policy, were a deliberate and cruel attempt to destroy the

nation. British historians, while admitting the bad management and lack of imagination, deny that there was any intention of destroying the people and point to the fact that Steyn told his followers that they could fight on with an easy mind as the enemy would look after their wives and little ones, and that at the peace conference Botha thanked the British for what they had done.

The End of the War. The war at last came to an end in May 1902 when the Boer leaders met Milner and Kitchener and accepted the terms offered, which were generous. Briefly, the republics were to be Crown Colonies for a time and to have responsible government within a reasonable period. The British gave £3,000,000 for the restoration of the devastated country. The peace was signed at Pretoria and was known as the Peace of Vereeniging.

Supplement

PAUL KRUGER

Paul Kruger, President of the South African Republic (the Transvaal) from 1883 to 1900 and one of the great men of his day, was born in the Cape Colony. He went on the Great Trek in Potgieter's party; he may have been in the lager at Vegkop and he certainly helped to drive the Matabele out of the Transvaal in 1837. As a young man, he has been described as "a great shaggy bull" and was famous as an athlete, a hunter and a commando fighter. He is said to have once raced a mounted horse over half a mile, to have out-distanced a lion which was chasing him and to have been able to long-jump 23 feet. When he was walking alongside a span of oxen and wanted to get to the other side, he used to jump over the span, using his whipstock for a pole. There is a story that he once ran a long-distance race against some natives; he went home in the middle for some coffee and also shot a lion, but he won the race! He was a magnificent horseman; it is said that he could ride a horse as well sitting backwards as forwards and, indeed, often did so when hunting buffalo in order to be able to shoot any buffalo that might chase him. When he was still a young man he lost his thumb when out shooting rhinoceros: his gun exploded and shattered the top joint; when he reached home he sharpened his knife and cut off the joint himself and later cut away more bad flesh when gangrene set in.

He played a part in the turbulent politics of the Transvaal

of the 'fifties and 'sixties and came to the fore in 1877 as an opponent of the British taking of the Transvaal; he went to England to protest against it and when the Transvaal became independent he was one of its leaders. He was elected President in 1883 and was re-elected again and again until 1900 when he went to Europe to try and get help for the Transvaal in the war against the British. He was not successful in this and died in 1904, a broken-hearted exile.

Paul Kruger was an extraordinary man; ruler of a small nation which defied the whole British Empire, he had no book learning and little knowledge of the outer world. He was rough and abrupt in his manner, but sincere and deeply religious. He was obstinate, and suspicious of new things, yet possessed of a vigorous common-sense which sometimes gave him an advantage over cleverer men. The central idea of his life was Afrikaner independence and he, more than anyone else, made a nation out of his people. The tragedy of his life was that he had to be the champion of an older way of life against a newer way of life; he did not see that he could as well tell the sun to stand still as fend off from his country the modern industrial world.

SOURCE READINGS

1. Extract from a speech by Cecil Rhodes to his constituents at Barkly West on September 28th, 1888

. I have little more to add. Here are the politics of South Africa in a nutshell. Let us leave the Free State and the Transvaal to their own destiny. We must adopt the whole responsibility of the interior. Let us consider that as an inheritance of the Cape Colony, and let us be prepared to take that responsibility at all hazards. As for the neighbouring States, we must take responsibility as to the railway communication, if they so desire it. We must propose a Customs Union on every suitable occasion; but we must always remember that the gist of the South African question lies in the extension of the Cape Colony to the Zambesi. If you, gentlemen, are prepared to take that, there is no difficulty in the future. We must endeavour to make those who live with us feel that there is no race distinction between us; whether Dutch or English, we are combined in one object; and that is, the union of the States of South Africa, without abandoning the Imperial tie. And what we mean by the Imperial tie is this, that we have the most perfect self-government internally, whilst retaining to ourselves the obligation of mutual defence against the outside world.

From 'Cecil Rhodes: His Political Life and Speeches' by "Vindex".

Questions

1. What does this speech tell us about Rhodes's attitude to
(a) the Transvaal and the Free State, (b) the interior,
(c) Afrikaners in the Cape Colony, (d) the political future
of South Africa?
2. Explain the last sentence of the speech.
3. How does this speech forecast the founding of Rhodesia?

2. Telegrams relating to the Jameson Raid**Telegram**

Urgent

From
Commandant-General

To
Mining Commissioner
at Ottoshoop

December 30, 1895.

Is there any truth concerning troops on your frontier? How many
are they; where are they?

(translated)

Telegram

Received December 30, 1895

From
Mining Commissioner
at Ottoshoop, Zeerust

To
Commandant-General,
Pretoria

Urgent

Your telegram by express from Zeerust received. Half past five
this morning about eight hundred men Chartered Company's
troops, armed, and six Maxims and other guns came through here
past Malmaniesoog in the direction of Johannesburg

(translated).

Telegram

Ontvangen 3 Januari, 1896

Van
J. Chamberlain,
London

Aan
President Kruger,
Government Building,
Pretoria, S.A.R.

It is rumoured here that you have ordered prisoners to be shot.
I do not believe it and rely on your generosity in the hour of victory.
Rhodes has telegraphed here this morning that story about force
collecting at Bulawayo under Napier and Spreckley is absolutely
false.

Telegram

From
Acting State Secretary

To
Chamberlain, London

Begins: Your Excellency's telegram of 3rd inst. I have given no
orders for the imprisoned freebooters to be shot. Their case will
soon be gone into, but in accordance with the traditions of this

Republic and in striking contrast with the unheard of doings of these freebooters nothing will be done with regard to them that is contrary to the law.

In England so many false and lying reports are spread even by the most influential newspapers that I think it advisable to add that the imprisoned freebooters have been treated with the utmost consideration by our burghers. . . . Your Excellency will, I trust, kindly pardon me if I say, with reference to the latter part of your telegram that our confidence in Rhodes has been so rudely shaken that his absolute denial of the reports from Bulawayo should be accepted with all caution; at this very moment we have reports that an armed force is assembling on the frontier. . . .

(translated)

Telegram

Received Jan. 3, 1896

From
Wilhelm, I.R.,
Berlin

To
President Kruger,
Pretoria

I tender you my sincere congratulations that without appealing to the help of friendly Powers you and your people have been successful in opposing with your own forces the armed bands that have broken into your country to disturb the peace, in restoring order and in maintaining the independence of your country against attacks from without.

Wilhelm, I.R.

(translated)

Telegram

From
President Kruger
Pretoria

To
His Majesty
The German Emperor
Wilhelm, Berlin

January 3, 1896

I beg to express to Your Majesty my very deep and most heartfelt thanks for Your Majesty's sincere congratulations. With God's help we hope further to do everything that is possible for the maintenance of our dearly bought independence and the stability of our beloved Republic.

(translated)

From 'Correspondence of the South
African Republic.'

Questions

1. What were the troops to which the second telegram refers?
2. Who was J. Chamberlain?
3. What was the Bulawayo force to which the third and fourth telegrams refer?

4. What was the effect of the Emperor Wilhelm's telegram on English public opinion about the Jameson Raid?

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1867—Discovery of Diamonds.
 1870—Rhodes came to South Africa.
 1872—The Cape became self-governing.
 1875—Lord Carnarvon proposed federation.
 1877—The Transvaal was annexed.
 1879—The Zulu War.
 1881—Transvaal War of Independence.
 Battle of Majuba.
 Pretoria Convention.
 1883—Germany occupied South-West Africa.
 1885—Discovery of Witwatersrand Goldfield.
 1895—The Jameson Raid
 1899—The South African War began.
 1902—The South African War ended.

TIME CHART

Start a new Time Chart from 1867 to 1902 with these headings.

Economic

Political

Leave space for items from later chapters.

EXERCISES

- A. 1. Explain why there was such a sharp division between skilled and unskilled labour on the diamond fields.
- B. 2. Write a vivid description of the "dry diggings" and the settlement at Kimberley.
3. Describe the will made by Cecil Rhodes in 1877. What does it show about his ideas?
4. Write short accounts of the characters of Alfred Beit and Dr. Jameson.
5. What did Barney Barnato say after arguing all night with Rhodes about what might be done with the profits of De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited?
- A. 6. What made the British Government realise at last that South Africa must be federated or unified?
- A. 7. Explain carefully the political steps taken by the British Government from 1872 onwards to bring about federation in South Africa. Show how this attempt failed.
- AB. 8. Describe the Witwatersrand goldfield, pointing out its difference from most others.
- A. 9. Describe the immediate effect on the Transvaal of the discovery of the Witwatersrand goldfield.
- B. 10. Describe the Jameson Raid in detail.
11. What were the results of the Jameson Raid?
12. Describe the armies of each side in the South African War.
13. Describe briefly the course of the South African War.
14. Write an account of the Concentration Camps in South Africa.
15. Write a life of Paul Kruger.

TEST QUESTIONS

- A. 1. Give the meanings of the following words:
 federation, customs duties, ore, monopoly, ignominiously.
 2. What hurried up the interlocking of Europeans and Bantu in S. Africa after 1862?
 3. What exactly was a diamond claim?
 4. What incident showed how difficult it was for South Africa to continue with different native policies in different parts?
 5. What was Carnarvon's immediate object in seizing the Transvaal?
 6. What was the Pretoria Convention?
 7. What effect on the actions of the British Government was caused by the appearance of Germany in southern Africa?
 8. What offers that seemed to point towards unity did Kruger make in 1885?
 9. What conditions were necessary if mining on the Witwatersrand goldfields was to be made to pay?
 10. What provoked the British Government in 1895 into saying that South African affairs concerned the British and no other European nation?
 11. What restrictions and disadvantages did the *uitlanders* suffer?
 12. What were the two main causes of the South African War?
- B. 13. Give the meaning of the following words:
 grille, "kopje walloper", aquilme, undergraduate, armoury, trajectory, harrying, gangrene, exile.
 14. What is I.D.B.?
 15. How did Rhodes complete his own education after 1873?
 16. Where did Alfred Beit come from? Why did he go to South Africa?
 17. What made Jameson give up practising as a doctor?
 18. What was the *plan* of the Jameson Raid?
 19. How were (a) the Raiders and (b) the Johannesburg rebels punished?
 20. What made the Raiders popular heroes in England?
 21. What was "Black Week"?
 22. Give the names of the leaders of the Boer commandos in 1901.
 23. What were the South African Concentration Camps used for?
 24. What were the terms of the Peace of Vereeniging (1902)?

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

Cambridge History of the British Empire—Volume VIII, Chapters XVII to XXII.

E. A. Walker—A History of South Africa, Chapters XI, XII, XIII.

De Kiewiet—A History of South Africa, Chapters IV and V.

E. A. Walker—Lord de Villiers and his Times.

Gardner Williams—The Diamond Mines of S. Africa

L. Cohen—Reminiscences of Kimberley.

S. J. P. Kruger—The Memoirs of Paul Kruger.

Marshall Hole—The Jameson Raid.

Fitzpatrick—Jock of the Bushveld.

Deneys Reitz—Commando.

"Vindex": Cecil Rhodes—His Political Life and Speeches.

Various Lives of Rhodes and Jameson, listed at the end of Chapter VIII.

Seymour Fort—Alfred Beit.

SOUTH AFRICA: 1901 TO 1910

Survey

STEPS TO UNION

Reconstruction. Even before the South African War was over, and while still the commandos were harrying and being harried, the farms being burnt and the countryside being laid waste, Sir Alfred Milner (Lord Milner from 1901) turned his attention to the problems of rebuilding. He was determined that never again must two entirely different political systems exist side by side in South Africa and that the British system must prevail. (He proposed to achieve his objects by the revival of gold-mining and the introduction of British people into the farming population of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony (formerly the Orange Free State). Accordingly, he himself became Governor of both the conquered territories and set up new systems of government with English officials. After the signing of the Peace of Vereeniging (1902) the population was gradually brought back to the land; money in the form of a grant and loans was provided for compensation by the British government.

Hopes of Union. It is clear from the history of South Africa in the nineteenth century that its chief problems were made the more difficult to solve by its division into separate states. Hitherto, attempts to unite it had failed but in 1902 the time was ripe. The whole sub-continent was under British control; the Cape Colony and Natal were self-governing, it is true, and Milner's attempt to deprive the Cape Colony temporarily of its self-government was unsuccessful. Nevertheless, the opportunity was there and Milner realised that it was now or never; if nothing was done the old causes of quarrel would soon show their heads again.

In 1903 an Intercolonial Council was set up to manage the finances of the railways and police in the new colonies. In 1903 also, the Bloemfontein Customs Convention recommended a commission on native affairs. As a result of this the South African Native Affairs Commission sat from 1903 to 1905. (One of its objects was to improve the supply of labour; nevertheless, it was a happy sign that the vitally important native question, pushed into the background for more than twenty years,* was being tackled by a South African Commission.

*Except for Rhodes's Glen Grey Act of 1894 which started a system, never carried very far, of individual land-holding and a native advisory council in a district of the Cape.

Self-Government. While there was much bitterness in the defeated Republics there was no active opposition to the rule of the British. The leaders recommended the people to accept it, though they themselves did not co-operate with Milner. There was much in his rule for them to criticise, chiefly the system of education which did not allow for enough use of the Dutch language. Their resistance to the use of English in schools led to the setting up of independent schools, but in the end the matter was settled by the use of both languages. Milner knew that self-government was bound to come but he hoped to pave the way for it by introducing representative government first. This is the system in which there is a Parliament but the Government is not responsible to it, as, for example, in the Cape Colony from 1853 to 1872. Before this could be done, however, Milner left and was succeeded by the Earl of Selborne (1905). Furthermore, there was a change of government in England in 1906 and the new government granted full self-government to the Transvaal (1906) and the Orange River Colony (1907). This altered the position considerably. In the 1907 elections the Afrikaner parties were successful; General Botha became Prime Minister of the Transvaal with General Smuts in his Cabinet, and Abram Fischer became Prime Minister of the Orange River Colony with General Hertzog as his Minister of Education. In the Cape Colony in 1907 the South African Party, largely representing Afrikaners, turned out Jameson and his Progressives.

South Africa at the Cross-roads. The year 1907 was a cross-roads for South Africa; either the old separatism would come back or common sense would prevail and a union would be formed. In 1907 Selborne issued his famous Memorandum in which he pointed out that South Africa would never be truly self-governing as long as she was divided into separate states, disputes among which could only be settled by the British High Commissioner. Although the situation was better since the war there were still plenty of causes of disunity, chiefly rivalry between the railway systems and ports and disputes about customs. Also, Natal had had a native rebellion in 1906 and had had to call in outside help. It was highly inconvenient that there should be four legal systems, four defence forces, four police forces and no unified control of agriculture and mining. All these, together with the impossibility of actually carrying out the recommendations of the South African Native Affairs Commission, supported Selborne's statement that without union South Africa could never be wholly self-governing. It was the failure of the Pretoria Customs Conference (1908) to reach any satisfactory settlement of disputes about customs that led to a resolution, moved by General Smuts, that union was necessary, and soon.

The National Convention—1908-09. Therefore, delegates from the four states met in 1908, and again in 1909, and deliberated on the question of Union. The Transvaal delegates came with a

prepared plan of a constitution, worked out by General Smuts. The final draft of the South Africa Act was approved by the four Parliaments and passed by the British Parliament (1909). It took effect on May 31st, 1910, when South Africa, now the Union of South Africa, set its sails for a new course with General Botha at the helm as the first Prime Minister.

The South Africa Act. The National Convention had many obstacles to overcome. Fortunately, wise statesmanship and common sense did not let these obstacles wreck the Convention. Where complete agreement could not be reached, there was compromise and, wisely, no solutions were proposed for problems which could only be dealt with after Union was established.

Customs disputes automatically faded out, the railway system was unified and arrangements made for the traffic to the Rand to be shared out. The four states were linked in a Union instead of a Federation. This meant that they became Provinces, with very limited powers, subject to the central government.

The system of government adopted was that of the Cape Colony, which had been based on the British system. There were to be a Governor-General, a Parliament consisting of Senate and House of Assembly, and a Cabinet chosen from the members of Parliament. Each Province was to keep its own franchise (right to vote), which meant that while in the Cape, Natives and Coloured people could still vote, in the Transvaal and Orange Free State they still could not.

Both languages became official. A Court of Appeal for the whole of South Africa was established. The capital was divided between Pretoria (Administration), Cape Town (Parliament) and Bloemfontein (Supreme Court). A clause in the South Africa Act allows Southern Rhodesia to be admitted to the Union by an Order-in-Council.

In order to prevent over-hasty changes, the clauses in the Constitution concerning the franchise and bi-lingualism could not be changed except by a two-thirds majority of both houses sitting together.

The British Parliament, in passing the South Africa Act, virtually washed its hands of South Africa, though it kept the Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. It accepted with hardly a protest the provision that in a large part of the Union Natives were not allowed to vote. When one considers the root cause of the long and bitter struggle between the British authorities and the South African colonists, this is a remarkable thing. 'Downing Street had surrendered to the frontier.'¹⁵

Survey

GOLD MINING

The South African War was disastrous to the mining industry of the Rand. Milner saw that his proposed reconstruction of

South Africa depended on the speedy recovery of the industry and he did everything he could to encourage the mines to start up again. The greatest obstacle was shortage of labour; there had never been more than just enough and in 1901 the labourers were dispersed on more congenial and better paid work elsewhere. Various steps were taken, in 1901 an agreement was made with the Portuguese for the supply of labourers from Mozambique but there were still not enough. In 1903 F. H. P. Creswell of the Village Main Reef proposed the use of white unskilled labour (a revolutionary suggestion!) and supported his proposal with facts and figures, but the other mine managers disagreed with him and nothing came of it. The solution which was found was the bringing in of 50,000 Chinese labourers from 1904 to 1907. There was an outcry, both by the Transvalers who wanted no more racial complications and by English Liberals who protested against 'Chinese slavery'; the result was that, though the Chinese labourers tided over the gap and enabled the mines to increase production, they were in due course all sent back to China and did not add to the racial mixture of South Africa.

Survey

POVERTY

The Town Labourer. We have seen in earlier chapters that the frontier between the Europeans and the Bantu was gradually abolished, but that the Bantu, so far from being extinguished as the weaker peoples were, became interlocked with the Europeans in their economic life.* This process started on the farms and was extended and intensified by the opening of the diamond fields. With the discovery of the Rand and the industrialisation of South Africa the process went further still; whereas the Kimberley labourers came and went, there now grew up a class of town labourer who had lost all connection with tribal life and had little in common with his farming kinsmen, save poverty.

We have also seen how the lack of anything to sell but the strength of his muscles led to the unskilled black labourer on the diamond mines being set far below the skilled white miner. This vast gulf was perpetuated in the gold mines; whereas in the old days the frontier tradition was that the portion of the white man was land and the portion of the black man work, now in the field of labour the frontier tradition lived again: the portion of the white man was skilled work at high wages, the portion of the black man, unskilled work at low wages. There was, in fact, in this field a sort of 'frontier' preserved between black and white. The possession of a black skin does not necessarily make its owner incapable of skilled work as the mine-owners found when they introduced machine drills and Natives learnt to use them. But the beginnings of an encroachment on skilled labour was strongly

* Indeed, as *labourers*, the Bantu continued their southern and westward movement until now there are many thousands in Cape Town itself.

resisted by white miners; in their resistance they were supported by the State as the 'colour bar' laws passed after 1910 amply show.

Poor Whites. The causes of poverty among country Natives were no respecters of persons. Landlessness, drought, soil exhaustion and erosion, profit farming, bore hardly on Europeans, too. There had always been landless men in the backveld but in the old days a waggon could serve as a home, some oxen, a horse and a gun were enough to keep a man and his family going. There was plenty of land to use even if someone else owned it. Those who did own land often lived the slow-moving, unenterprising life of the subsistence farmer. This kind of farming was not inefficient in its day and place, but when towns grew up over the mines and land values increased, it no longer matched. So, landowners became landless and the already landless could no longer find free grazing and land to plough on the newly fenced profit-making farms. There emerged in South Africa a new class, the Poor Whites. There were other causes than those mentioned above; poor food brought about physical and mental slackness; the old Roman-Dutch law encouraged a father to divide his property among his children—well enough, when most of the children could sell their shares and go and find a new farm on easy terms, but when there was no more land, what then? Intensive cultivation was not in the nature of the people and the result was inefficient farming and hopeless poverty. The policy of the British government in preventing the complete dispossession of the Bantu, and the destruction caused by the farm-burning of the British army in the South African War were contributing causes of the appearance of Poor Whites.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the fundamental reasons for both white and black poverty were the same. As we have had occasion to remark before, people must adapt themselves to circumstances. To the people of both races, the use of land was an essential; without it they felt of no account. When the black man lost his land he became a paid labourer, as men who lose their land have become in all ages and in all countries. When the white man lost his land, he became—what?—Here is the crux of the matter. It is no coincidence that the exact parallel of the Poor White is the 'cracker' or 'mean white' of the southern states of the U.S.A. By race they belonged to the land-owning class, by economic circumstance to the labouring class. They formed an intermediate class with the advantages of neither. Many Poor Whites were *bywoners*, squatting on farms on a share system. When farming became more scientific and more concerned with profits there was little place for *bywoners*.

So, the Poor Whites went to town, too; but, better off, for they had not the skill and enterprise of the closed preserves of white skilled labour; nor the mass of unskilled labour which was black. The held good, that black is black and white is y

must not do 'Kaffir work.'

Poor Whiteism may be regarded as a social sore which is not yet cured. Happily it was not left to fester. True to its tradition, South Africa tackled the problem by deliberately sacrificing economic gain to social welfare. A white man was paid a white man's wage, whatever his ability, special classes of unskilled labour were reserved for Europeans and many measures for the rescue of Poor Whites were undertaken. Economists pointed to the unsound economics of it but South Africans felt that anything was better than the complete submergence of any white people in the sea of black.

Survey

THE INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Natal had brought in Indians as indentured labourers to work on the sugar plantations. Enterprising and thrifty people, many of them chose to stay and make a living by trade and agriculture. They did not confine themselves to Natal; the Orange Free State kept them out altogether but many went into the Transvaal where they suffered many restrictions but nevertheless thought it worth while to stay. After the South African War the British made no change in either their restrictions or their rights but in 1907 the new responsible government of the Transvaal passed the Asiatic Law Amendment Act. This was to prevent a great flow of Indians from Natal which had been trying since 1875, but without success, to persuade them to go back to India. This Act required Asiatics to carry registration certificates marked with their finger prints. The Indians objected strongly to compulsory registration and started a passive resistance movement under the leadership of the late Mr. Gandhi, since famous for his political and social activities in India. A compromise was reached in 1908 but hostilities flared up again in 1913 and the question is far from settlement yet.

Survey

AFRIKAANS

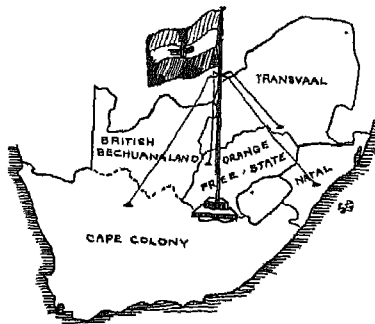
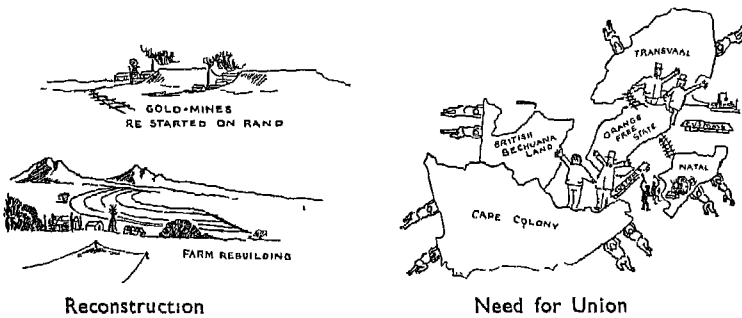
The Afrikaans language grew from the seventeenth century Dutch spoken by the first settlers at the Cape. It is thus a sister language to the seventeenth century Dutch spoken in Holland. The language was affected by local influences, such as the French of the Huguenots, and by the end of the eighteenth century was distinct from the Dutch of Holland; it was in general use in conversation but was not a written language. Preachers still used the Dutch of

d. In 1825 English was made the only official language, but (though it was not called that at the time) continued to be the language of the Dutch people, both in the Cape and after the Great Trek, in the republics. Although there were no Afrikaans before 1876, the real beginning was made by the Rev. S. J. du Toit of the Paarl, who started the Afrikaans periodical, 'Di Patriot.' Never-

theless, it was not until after the South African War had inflamed the national consciousness of Dutch-speaking South Africans that the opposition to written Afrikaans was overcome. In 1906 there appeared a poem, 'Die Vlakte', written by Jan Celliers, which showed the doubters that Afrikaans could be used as a literary language and from that date the language surely established itself.

When the South Africa Act stated that English and Dutch were both official languages it was referring to the Dutch of Holland. However, Afrikaans was introduced into the schools in 1916 and in 1925 it was made an official language of the Union of South Africa.

STEPS TO UNION



1910

SOURCE READING**Extracts from the South Africa Act, 1909**

An Act to constitute the Union of South Africa
(20th September, 1909)

Whereas it is desirable for the welfare and future progress of South Africa that the several British Colonies therein should be united under one Government in a legislative union under the Crown of Great Britain and Ireland:

And whereas it is expedient to make provision for the union of the Colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony on terms and conditions to which they have agreed by resolution of their respective Parliaments, and to define the executive, legislative, and judicial powers to be exercised in the government of the Union:

And whereas it is expedient to make provision for the establishment of provinces with powers of legislation and administration in local matters and in such other matters as may be specially reserved for provincial legislation and administration:

And whereas it is expedient to provide for the eventual admission into the Union or transfer to the Union of such parts of South Africa as are not originally included therein:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

137. Both the English and Dutch languages shall be official languages of the Union, and shall be treated on a footing of equality, and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights, and privileges; all records, journals, and proceedings of Parliament shall be kept in both languages, and all Bills, Acts, and notices of general public importance or interest issued by the Government of the Union shall be in both languages.

150. The King, with the advice of the Privy Council, may on addresses from the Houses of Parliament of the Union admit into the Union the territories administered by the British South Africa Company on such terms and conditions as to representation and otherwise in each case as are expressed in the addresses and approved by the King, and the provisions of any Order in Council in that behalf shall have effect as if they had been enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Questions

1. What are the provinces to which the preamble refers?
2. What 'parts of South Africa' are referred to in the fourth paragraph of the preamble?

3. Who are 'the Lords Spiritual and Temporal'?
4. What condition was laid down for the repeal or alteration of Section 137?
5. To what territories does Section 150 refer?
6. Explain Section 150.

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1902—The Peace of Vereeniging
 1903—The Intercolonial Council set up.
 The Bloemfontein Customs Convention.
 The South African Native Affairs Commission began its work.
 1904—Chinese labourers brought to the Rand.
 1906—The Transvaal became self-governing.
 1907—The Orange River Colony became self-governing.
 The Selborne Memorandum.
 1908—The Pretoria Customs Conference.
 The National Convention
 1909—The South Africa Act passed.
 1910—The Union of South Africa.

TIME CHART

Continue the Time Chart made for Chapter V.

EXERCISES

1. Explain what were the prospects in 1902-03 of bringing about a union of South Africa.
2. What was the attitude of the people of the defeated republics to British rule?
3. Why was the need for a union of South Africa particularly urgent in 1907?
4. What were the greatest obstacles to agreement in the National Convention?
5. Give an outline of the constitution of the Union of South Africa as laid down in the South Africa Act.
6. What steps were taken between 1901 and 1907 to overcome the labour shortage in the Rand gold mines?
7. Explain why Natives were largely confined to unskilled work.
8. Write an essay on the causes of Poor Whiteism.
9. What problems arose out of the presence of Indians in South Africa?
10. Write an essay on the history of the Afrikaans language.

TEST QUESTIONS

1. How did Lord Milner propose to carry out his policy of reconstruction in South Africa?
2. What was the purpose of the Intercolonial Council of 1903?
3. What was the chief cause of discontent with British rule in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony?
4. Who succeeded Lord Milner as High Commissioner?
5. Who were the first Prime Ministers of (a) the Transvaal and (b) the Orange Free State?

6. What reason did Selborne give that South Africa would never be self-governing as long as she was divided?
7. What were the chief subjects of dispute among the South African colonies in 1907?
8. When was the South Africa Act passed?
9. According to the South Africa Act, what did the South African colonies become?
10. In the South Africa Act what arrangement was made about the franchise?
11. Among which towns was the capital of South Africa divided?
12. What remedy for the labour shortage was proposed by F.H.P. Creswell?
13. What two groups of people protested against the bringing of Chinese labourers to the Rand and on what grounds?
14. What are 'colour bar' laws?
15. Why did landless men in South Africa find life more difficult after about 1890?
16. What was the disadvantage of the law which encouraged a father to subdivide his property among his children at his death?
17. Why could not the European farmer who lost his land take work as a paid labourer?
18. What was the Asiatic Law Amendment Act of 1907?
19. What did the Rev. S. J. du Toit do for the Afrikaans language?
20. What was the effect on the Afrikaans language of the publication of 'Die Vlakte' in 1906?

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Volume VIII: Chapters XXIII, XXV, XXIX(c), XXXII (pp 857-868).
 E. A. Walker—A History of South Africa, Chapter XIII.
 De Kiewiet—A History of South Africa, Chapters VI, VII, VIII, IX.

BEYOND THE LIMPOPO

Survey

BETWEEN THE LIMPOPO AND THE ZAMBESI

We must now turn our attention again to the country lying between the Rivers Limpopo and Zambesi. As we have already seen, in the seventeenth century the Karanga kingdom of the *monomotapa* had broken up and become more or less subject to the Portuguese. At the end of that century (about 1693), this country and Butwa-Torwa were conquered by the Rozwi. The Rozwi became rulers of the country during the eighteenth century but they usually let the subject tribes go their own way and were not particularly strict; as a result there was much inter-tribal jealousy and raiding. Several Portuguese stations were destroyed in 1693 and, although there were still Portuguese in the interior in the eighteenth century, by the early nineteenth century they had all left it.

The Zulu "Explosion." We have already seen (Chapter III) that the early nineteenth century was a time of great turmoil in South Africa owing to the rise of the Zulu under Chaka. This turmoil extended far to the north as well as to the south and west. The century-old Rozwi kingdom between the Zambesi and the Limpopo was shattered by the arrival of Zulu hordes bursting out from the storm-centre of Zululand. About 1830, the Nxumalo clan broke away northwards under their chief Sotshangana, settled in what is now Portuguese East Africa and reached as far as the Melsetter, Umtali and Ndanga districts of the present Southern Rhodesia. Their descendants are the Tshangana (Shangaans). Swazi under Zwangendaba came with them, but broke away and conquered some of the Rozwi. These Swazi then crossed the Zambesi and settled near Lake Nyasa, where their descendants, the Angoni, still live. In 1823 a horde of refugees called the Mantati broke away westwards, crossed what is now the Orange Free State and attacked the Chwana tribes. They were defeated by Griquas and Chwana organised by the Rev. Robert Moffat, and one section, the Kololo, went northwards, defeated some Rotse on the upper Zambesi and settled there. In the eighteen-sixties the Kololo were in turn overthrown by the Rotse, whose country, Barotseland, is now part of Northern Rhodesia. The Kumalo clan broke away from the Zulu after their chief Mzilikazi had quarrelled with Chaka. Mzilikazi first settled in what is now the Transvaal, but he was attacked both by Dingaan the Zulu and by the Trekkers under Potgieter, so the whole tribe moved north and settled in the neighbourhood of the

Matopos Hills, on the advice of the Rev. Robert Moffat. They took the tribal name of Ndebele: we shall, however, use the more common name for them—Matabele.*

The Matabele. The Matabele had very little difficulty in conquering the Rozwi and Karanga tribes and in a short time they ruled a large area bounded roughly by the Mazoe and Sabi Rivers on the north-east and east and the Macloutsie River and Lake Makarikari on the west. The people who comprised the Matabele tribe can be divided into:

1. The pure-blooded descendants of the original Zulu who left Zululand with Mzilikazi.
2. The Basuto and Chwana who had been conquered and included in the tribe before it left the Transvaal.
3. The Holi, who were the Rozwi and Karanga captives and were considered a servant class.

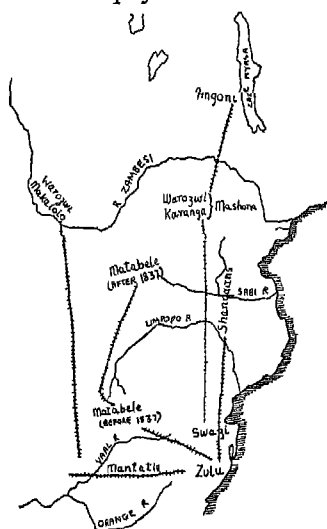
In addition, there were the Rozwi and Karanga tribes who remained more or less self-ruling but had to pay tribute to the Matabele king.† These remnants of the Rozwi and Karanga were given the name Mashona or Maswina and by that name we shall call them, although it is not a tribal name.

The Matabele, it must be remembered, were really Zulu and their way of life and government were the same as that of the Zulu, that is, it followed the general Bantu way of life except that there was a strong central government based on a powerful military organisation. This meant that there was a class of men who were warriors and nothing else. These warriors were highly trained in the Zulu way of fighting and were exceedingly fierce and brave. They ate quantities of meat and did no ordinary work. Each was armed with an ox-hide shield, three assegais and a knobkerry:

each warrior wore "on the head a crest of feathers, or a circlet of otter skin in which was stuck the long tail feather of the blue crane; capes of black ostrich feathers covered neck and shoulders; a kilt of jackal or monkey skins was suspended from the waist;

*They were in fact called Matabele by the Chwana, from the Chwana word *tebe* for a shield.

†Perhaps it is more accurate to say that they were the victims of a robber nation.



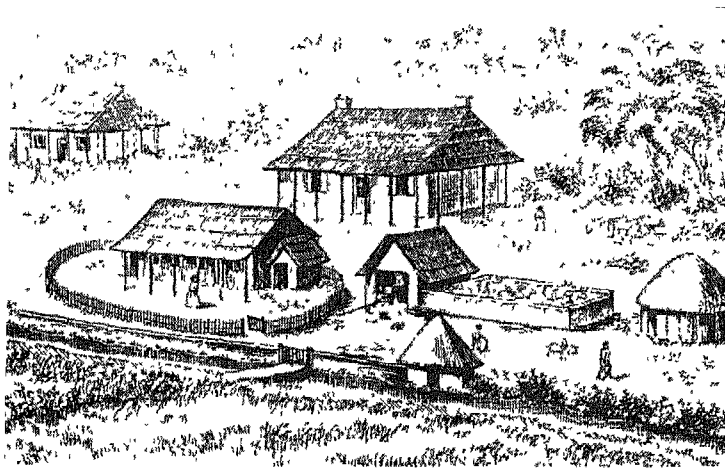
Movements of tribes thrown off by the Zulu.



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

XXII DAVID LIVINGSTONE

XXIII ROBERT MOFFAT



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

XXIV THE MISSION STATION AT INYATI

These were the first permanent European dwellings in Southern Rhodesia. The mission was started by Robert Moffat in 1859



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

XXV THOMAS BAINES



XXVI LT COL F G PENNEFATHER



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

XXVII GOLD¹

Henry Hirdley being shown traces of gold—from a painting by Thomas Baines



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

XXVIII MATABELI WARRIORS

Note the head dress and cape
of black ostrich feathers



XXIX LOBENGULA

From a sketch made
by E A Maund



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

XXX MATABELI AT FORT TULI IN 1890

Observe the variety of clothes and weapons



Umshete



Maund

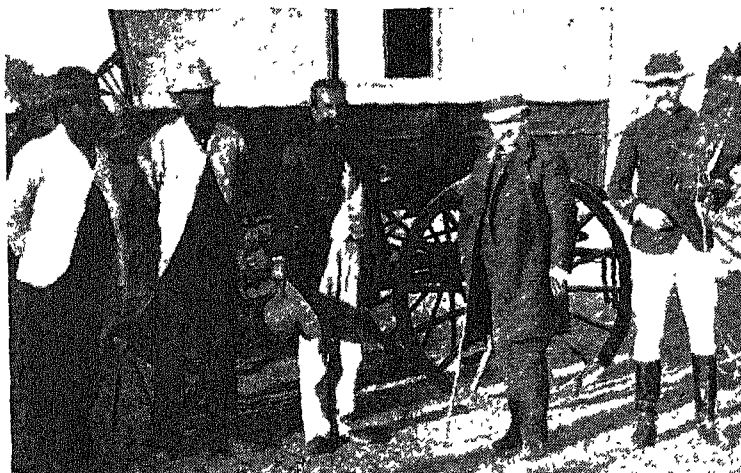
Colenbrander



Babyjane

[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

XXXI MAUND AND COLENBRANDER
With the two indunas who went to England in 1889



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives.]

XXXII, SHIPPARD AT BULAWAYO, 1888

*Left to Right . Rev D. Carnegie, Rev C D Helm, Rev J S. Moffat, Sir Sidney Shippard
Major H Gould-Adams.*



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XXXIII OFFICERS OF THE PIONEER CORPS, 1890

Back row, l to r Lts Farrell and Mandy, Drs Tabiteau and Lichfield, Capts Ronch and Hoste,
Lts Borrow, Campbell and G. Burnett and the Rev I. Surridge
Middle row Lts Fry, T. Burnett, Capt Heany, Major Johnson, and Capt Selous
Front row Lts Tyndale-Biscoe, Nicholson and Beale and Dr Brett



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XXXIV OFFICERS OF THE BSA COMPANY'S POLICE, 1890

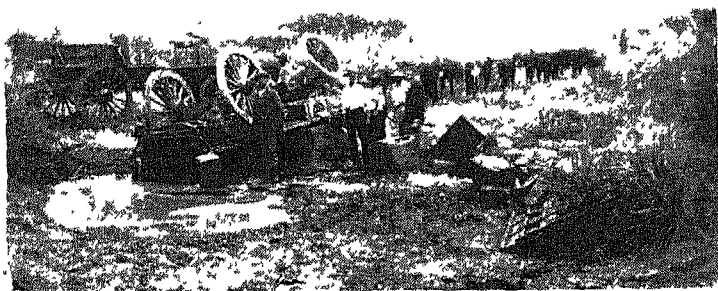
Back row Lt Slade and Dr Rand
Middle row Lt Shepstone, Capt Forbes, Ltd -Col Pennelather, Capt Graham, and Canon
Balfour
Front row. Lt the Hon Eustace Fiennes and Capt Heyman



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

XXXV PIONEERS

Dr L. S. Jameson, C. F. Harrison, F. C. Selous and A. R. Colquhoun. This photograph was taken during the Pioneer Expedition of 1890.



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

XXXVI INCIDENT ON THE ROAD

The incident took place during the Pioneer Expedition, 1890.

white cattle tails round the elbows, knees and ankles, completed the attire."¹⁶

The country was divided into districts, each under an *induna*, who was governor, judge, commander of the warriors and councillor of the king. The king was all-powerful, though he usually attended to the advice of his councillors. The Matabele were a difficult people to rule, as a nation of warriors is bound to be, and needed a strong hand. Mzilikazi was just such a strong ruler and kept a very tight hold over his people.

The Mashona tribes subject to the Matabele were forced to pay a yearly tribute of cattle and corn to the Matabele king and it was the business of the warriors to see that this was paid. As long as the Mashona paid up quietly they lived in peace but any that showed unwillingness were attacked by a band of Matabele warriors, their villages burnt, their men killed and their women and boys carried off into captivity. They built their kraals on the tops of steep kopjes and sometimes fought desperately, but more often did not. A Rhodesian poet, Kingsley Fairbridge, has described such an attack.

" . . . the flare of the village
Went red to the sky, and the flame of the village
Glared white on the timber, and white in the darkness
The smoke of the kias whirled out on the night-wind,
And huddled together the women were moaning,
The cattle were lowing with fear of the fires,
And fear of the shouting and groans of the dying,
And hot was the reek of the dead who were assegaied
(Thickly they lay in the light of the fires !)"¹⁷

Supplement

THE INXWALA

The Inxwala was the Matabele First Fruits dance, which took place every February. It was a most impressive and awe-inspiring sight. It was more than a tribal dance; it was a religious ceremony of very great importance. The tribal doctors purified the huts and sprinkled the warriors with medicine; new hearthstones replaced the old ones and floors were freshly coated. Fires were put out and lit again from a royal fire. The king himself was purified. Until the dance was over, no-one was allowed to eat the new season's garden produce.

For some weeks before the dance, temporary camps were put up near the king's kraal, huge quantities of beer were brewed and cattle were driven up. Then the regiments marched in from their kraals. On the appointed day, some ten or twelve thousand warriors in full war dress collected in an

open space before the king's cattle kraal, accompanied by crowds of singing women and girls. The warriors chanted songs as "*Puma, si ku bone, nyoni yelizwe, ehe, ehe, ya*" (Come out that we may see you, bird of the country) and "*U yingwe mabala, puma, so ku bone sonke*" (You are the spotted leopard, come out that we may all see you). They beat their shields with sticks and stamped their feet. Then they formed up in an enormous crescent from three to ten men deep and the dance doctors sprinkled medicine over them. After that the whole army charged the king's kraal and then returned to its first position. This was the moment when the king appeared, streaked with black paint, in full war dress and carrying a huge spear and a beautiful shield of black oxhide with one white spot. He was greeted with a tremendous roar of "*Balete*."* Then the whole army chanted the sacred royal anthem, which was never sung at any other time and has never been sung since the death of Lobengula. This anthem was an act of homage to the ancestral spirits of the king. More dancing followed, during which warriors would rush out in front and pantomime hand-to-hand combats, boastfully shouting of their own prowess. If a young warrior did this, he might be driven back into the crowd by the angry indunas. Sometimes a shrill whistle would start at one end of the line, grow louder and louder to the middle and die away at the end. The next event was a dance by the king's wives, dressed in beads, gaudy cloth and feathers. Then came the witch-doctors with calabashes of medicine which they took into the king's kraal. Again the whole army charged furiously with lowered assegais at the king, after which sacred black cattle were driven into the veld, pursued by young warriors and driven back again—a symbol of raiding the enemy's herds. The king, who had retired for this part of the ceremony, now came back and danced by himself, after which he threw an assegai in the direction in which raiding parties were to go that year. The warriors rushed forward and stabbed their assegais in the ground in the same direction.

On the day after the dance three or four hundred cattle were driven out and the warriors rushed wildly among them, stabbing and killing until all were slaughtered. The beasts were left out until the third day, so that the ancestral spirits could take what they wanted, and then the whole people gave itself up to feasting.

*This is often written "*Bayete*" or "*Hayete*"; it sounded like "Aaaa-yete."

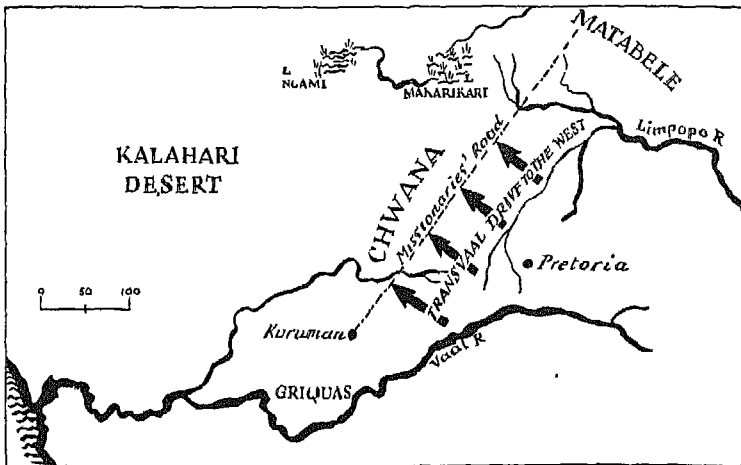
Survey

EUROPEANS COME TO THE MATABELE COUNTRY

Chapter IV has described how European farmers gradually pressed back and engulfed the Bantu tribes in South Africa south of the Limpopo River and east of the Kalahari desert. We have also seen how at an earlier date other Europeans (the Portuguese) had entered the Karanga country from the east and had then left it. Now we have to consider the European entrance from the south to the country between the Limpopo and the Zambesi and their eventual conquest of it.

In the first place, it was a different kind of advance from that of, say, the farmers of the eastern Cape or the Trekkers into the Transvaal. While this was the steady advance on a broad front of roaming cattle farmers seeking more land, the spearhead of the European advance from the south into the Matabele country was composed of missionaries, hunters and traders and the final occupation was carried out by organised expeditions with Government approval. Also, the objective of this occupation was not so much grazing land as gold and trade. It seems at first sight surprising that the Trekkers who settled in the Transvaal did not press on further. In fact they did make an attempt; Potgieter led an expedition against Mzilikazi in 1847, but was forced to retreat. Thereafter the pressure of the Transvalers was westward and eastward rather than northward.

This explains why the European advance into the Matabele country was based on the Cape Colony rather than on the Transvaal.



The Drive North up the Missionaries' Road.

It also helps to explain why this advance followed a well-defined route and was on a very narrow front. It is necessary to look at

the map on page 121 which shows that between the western edge of white settlement in the Transvaal and the Kalahari desert there is a narrow strip of territory, not very fertile it is true, but at least habitable and passable by ox waggons. The map on page 75 (White and Black Settlement) shows that this area was one of comparatively thick Bantu settlement. This was the reason why the Trekkers did not conquer and occupy it immediately. When they came to attempt it, they found themselves up against tribes which had the backing first of British missionaries and later of British business men, like Rhodes, and even of the British Government. This important route to the interior of Africa, which was known as "The Missionaries' Road," was the subject of many disputes between the British who wanted to keep it open and the Transvalers who wanted to cut across it and block it.

In the history of Rhodesia this road is of the greatest importance; if south central Africa be likened to a bottle, this road is the neck of it. It is, then, to the missionaries who were the first to explore it that we must first turn our attention.

Survey

MISSIONARIES

Missionaries were the pioneers of the drive to the north from the Cape Colony for, early in the nineteenth century, missionaries went among the turbulent Hottentots and halfbreeds on the Orange River and formed them into organised communities; these people were known as Griquas. The London Missionary Society sent missionaries still further north to the Chwana tribes.

Robert Moffat. Among these was Robert Moffat, a gardener of humble origins who, influenced by the Methodists, joined the London Missionary Society and in 1817 arrived in Cape Town. He spent the best part of fifty years among the Chwana tribes and during that time he translated the Bible into their language. He successfully resisted the attempts of the Transvalers to close "the Missionaries' Road." He visited Mzilikazi five times, twice in the Transvaal and three times north of the Limpopo. Indeed, it was Moffat who directed Mzilikazi to the neighbourhood of the Matopos Hills. He was the friend and adviser of the Matabele chief and obtained his consent to a mission being started in his country. In 1859 Moffat took a party of missionaries to the Matabele country and founded the Inyati Mission. Thus he pioneered the advance of Europeans towards the Zambesi and he takes a high and honoured place among the founders of Rhodesia.

David Livingstone. It was through Robert Moffat that the greatest of the explorers of south central Africa and one of the greatest explorers of all time came to Africa. This was David Livingstone; explorer, missionary and doctor, he was the first of the British to penetrate the savage forests and swamps of Africa north of the Zambesi; he was the discoverer of the Victoria Falls, which he named, and of Lakes Ngami and Nyasa; he was the

first white man to cross Africa from coast to coast; he did more than anyone else to expose and fight the revolting trade in slaves which was the curse of central Africa; he opened up huge tracts of Africa to the missionary and the trader, the forerunners of *European civilisation*. *Perhaps the most far-reaching result of his work was to lift up the African in the eyes of Europeans.* Livingstone showed by his life that he thought highly of Africans and they in their turn showed themselves capable of splendid loyalty and courage. Thus a great blow was dealt at the slave-owning habit of mind which thinks of the African as a lower kind of being, fit only to labour for white men. Livingstone also softened the harshness of the impact of white upon black; until he came, this contact, save for the gallant work of the Jesuits, had been almost entirely hurtful. It was left to Livingstone to show Africans that there were white men who liked them and sympathised with them and to set an example, memories of which still linger in the lands through which he travelled, of the Good Man.

Supplement

ROBERT MOFFAT

Moffat's first trip, after his arrival in Cape Town in 1817, was to the kraal of Africaner, a half-breed outlaw, in Namaqualand. Among a very wild people Moffat lived hard on milk and meat, wearing, as he put it in a letter to his parents, "the fasting girdle." Here he was carpenter, smith, cooper, tailor, shoemaker, miller, baker and housekeeper and he successfully grew some wheat and vegetables. He endeared himself to Africaner and even took the wild outlaw with him to Cape Town in 1819. He was then sent to Lattakoo, north of the Orange River, which he reached after a 66 days' journey by waggon. He tried to start a mission here among the Tlapin, an unattractive, thieving people, but had very little success at first. In 1823 the Tlapin were threatened by the Mantati, a horde of fierce refugees from the Zulu. Moffat saved them by calling upon the Griquas and their Government agent-missionary, Melvill; the Griquas had guns and horses and defeated the Mantati in a battle. The Tlapin came in when the battle was over and plundered and killed Mantati wounded and women and children, so that Moffat was hard put to it to rescue his late enemies from his own side. This battle gave the Tlapin a higher opinion of Moffat but for another five years there was such devastation everywhere and such a spirit of madness abroad that he could do little. He did, however, move the mission to Kuruman where there was a good spring and here a beautiful station was laid out and a school opened. It was

not until 1828 that his work began to show results and the Chwana began to listen to his message. In 1829, Mzilikazi sent messengers asking Moffat to visit him and he went with them to Mzilikazi's kraal on the Marico River. The chief was very considerate and kind to Moffat and always afterwards looked upon him with the greatest friendliness. Moffat, horrified by the belt of devastation round the Matabele country, warned Mzilikazi not to go on with his depredations, but he did not think that mission work would have much success among the Matabele. In 1835 Moffat went again to see Mzilikazi, this time with Dr. Andrew Smith who arranged a treaty of friendship between Mzilikazi and the British, a treaty which was renewed more than fifty years later by Moffat's son and Mzilikazi's son. For many years Moffat worked hard, running the mission and translating the Bible. In 1840 he met David Livingstone in England and, as a result of this meeting, Livingstone joined the London Missionary Society and came to Africa. Moffat was anxious to see Mzilikazi again, so in 1854 he made the journey to the Matabele country (now Matabeleland). Mzilikazi was very pleased to see him, treated him very kindly and allowed him to preach to the Matabele. He visited Mzilikazi again in 1857 and asked leave to start a mission among the Matabele. Mzilikazi was nervous about white people settling in his country, but gave his consent nevertheless. Thus it was that in 1859 a party of missionaries set out from Kuruman for the Matabele country. Before they started Moffat had been warned to obtain permission from Pretorius, President of the South African Republic (Transvaal) to go through Chwana country. He asked Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape Colony, to protest as he did not admit the South African Republic's claim to Bechuanaland. This was done and the Transvalers said no more. The incident shows how the Transvalers were trying to push to the west while the British were trying to keep open the road to the north. There was a deeper quarrel between the Transvalers and the missionaries concerning the attitude of each towards the Bantu.

However, the party started; it consisted of Robert Moffat, J. S. Moffat (his son) and Mrs. J. S. Moffat,* Mr. and Mrs. Thomas and Mr. Sykes. Progress was very slow owing to loose sand, the need to make drifts and frequent repairs to

*The young Moffats were actually independent missionaries. Livingstone gave J. S. Moffat £500 to enable him to marry and thereafter paid his salary for some years.

the waggons. Worse still, lung sickness broke out among the cattle, so that when they reached the Matopos Hills, Mzilikazi would not let the cattle come further. He sent men to pull the waggons instead, which made the last part of the journey very slow indeed.

They reached Mzilikazi's encampment on October 28th, 1859, and found the king not very friendly and inclined to take back his consent to found a mission. Moffat was in despair but fortunately Mzilikazi had such respect and liking for him that he relented and gave them land at Inyati, about 40 miles from modern Bulawayo. Here they set to work building houses and making gardens, Moffat working as hard as any of them in sawpit and forge and at the bench. In 1860, Robert Moffat went back to Kuruman and the Inyati mission was carried on by the others. They were the first Europeans, coming from the south, to live in the Matabele country and the first white child born in the Matabele country was Robert Moffat's grandchild.

Robert Moffat was a man of great simplicity and selflessness; he had immense courage and a personality that attracted others to him. He was almost too masterful, so that the Kuruman Christians never became self-reliant and sometimes he was so optimistic as to raise hopes which were not to be fulfilled. He spent most of the last part of his life revising his translation and speaking in England on behalf of the London Missionary Society. He died in 1883 at the great age of 88.

In 1870 Lobengula, son of Mzilikazi, the new king of the Matabele, allowed the London Missionary Society to start another mission at Hope Fountain. This was later occupied by the Rev. C. D. Helm, the friend and adviser of Lobengula.

Supplement

DAVID LIVINGSTONE

David Livingstone was born in 1813 in Blantyre, Scotland, of parents who were poor and godly. As a boy he was quiet and rather backward; he entered a cotton-mill at the age of 10 and worked fourteen hours a day mending threads. At night he went to school and in spare moments in the factory learnt Latin grammar. In later years he said that this hard life, which he lived for thirteen years, gave him great power of concentration and enabled him to work "amidst the dancing and singing savages" in an African village. In 1836

he went to Glasgow to study medicine and religion and by 1840 he was both a doctor and an ordained missionary. In the same year he had met Robert Moffat who said he would be suitable for Africa, "if you are prepared to leave occupied ground and push on to the North." In 1841 David Livingstone arrived in Kuruman. At this stage of his career he was a slight, wiry man with a strong, rugged face and brilliant eyes. He was still shy and quiet and inclined to 'lay down the law' in argument. He was simple and sincere and had a very strong sense of duty. He had had a scanty education but was well fitted for the kind of life he was to lead. He hated softness and extravagance and did not smoke or drink. His religious belief was very strong; throughout his life he believed that God was the ruler and that he was working for God.

In the first part of his life in Africa (1841-52) he was a missionary before he was a doctor or an explorer. Nevertheless, he believed that missionaries should go far afield and he spent much time looking for places where white people, especially missionaries, could settle. In this way the passion for exploration grew upon him. During these years he started new mission stations in Bechuanaland and became the friend of Sechele, chief of the Kwenā, who was the first convert of his tribe. Sechele, to show his sincerity, gave up all his wives but one—a remarkably difficult and unpopular thing for a Bantu chief to do. In 1845 Livingstone married the daughter of Robert Moffat. He became involved in the quarrel between the Transvalers and the missionaries and was as much hated as Dr. Philip had been in the Cape Colony. Livingstone, like Moffat, felt it to be his duty to protect the tribes against losing their land and independence. The Transvalers looked upon this as impertinent interference and accused him of supplying the tribesmen with guns. When he was away in 1852 the Transvalers under Pretorius invaded Sechele's town and sacked it. Livingstone's house was damaged and his property destroyed. The Transvalers were acting in self-defence, believing that the tribes were being supplied with guns by Livingstone. The truth was that certain tribes (but not Sechele's) had been supplied with guns, but not by Livingstone. Livingstone's 'armoury' was no more than a handyman's workshop. His final word was, "The Boers are determined to shut up the interior. I am determined to open up this country. We shall see who have been the more successful in resolution, they or I."

In spite of his determination, however, he was afraid that

the Chwana would not be able to resist European pressure and that his work would be spoilt. So he turned his eyes to the lands beyond the Kalahari desert, lands which Transvaal cattle could never reach. In this he was encouraged by big game hunters, mostly educated men, sympathetic with his religious outlook; one of these, Oswell, was his greatest friend. Thus, in the years 1849-51, he made three journeys northwards with Oswell and others. These journeys were very hard and all, especially Mrs. Livingstone and the children who came on two of the journeys, suffered much from thirst and mosquitoes. They discovered Lake Ngami in 1849 and in 1851 reached the Kololo country on the upper Zambesi. Sebituane, the chief of the Kololo, one of the most attractive Africans that Livingstone ever met, was delighted to see them and wanted them to stay. But the country was very swampy and too unhealthy for Europeans. Furthermore, Livingstone had now seen the upper Zambesi and the slave trade and was filled with determination to break the slave trade by opening up a way from the coast for ordinary trade. He realised that the slave trade was the only means by which the African hankering for European goods could then be satisfied. He therefore sent Mrs. Livingstone and the five young children back to England and prepared for the first of his great journeys.

Livingstone's Journeys. Between 1852 and 1873, when he died, Livingstone made three great journeys. The first (1852-56) was up the Zambesi and then to Loanda, a Portuguese port on the West Coast; then back along more or less the same route and down the Zambesi to its mouth. On this journey he crossed Africa from coast to coast and discovered *Mosi-oa-tunya* (the smoke that thunders), which he named Victoria Falls. It was one of the greatest achievements of travel on record. From the Cape he had travelled 6,000 miles, mostly on foot, in nearly four years. He was in England from 1856 to 1858 lecturing, writing "Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa" and playing with his children. At this time he was a very famous man and was 'lionised' by the public and honoured by the Royal Geographical Society. He left the London Missionary Society and returned to Africa in 1858 in charge of a government expedition to explore the lower Zambesi. He had six European assistants and a very poor steamboat. The object of the expedition was to see if the Zambesi was navigable; the discovery that it was not was a great disappointment to Livingstone, so he turned his attention to the Shire River and in 1859 discovered Lake

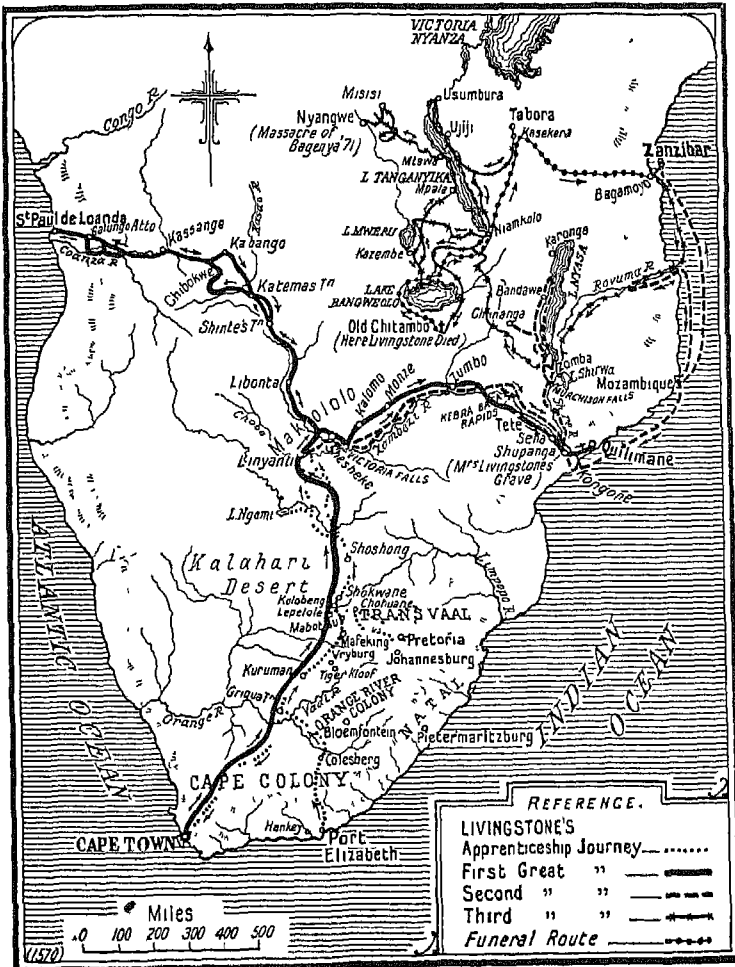
Nyasa. In 1860 he went up the Zambesi to the Kololo country again and heard there of the disaster which had overtaken a party of missionaries (the Prices and Helmores) which had left Bechuanaland shortly before the Moffats went to Matabeleland. They had been badly treated by the chief Sekeletu and had nearly all died of fever.

Livingstone's Zambesi expedition was dogged by misfortune. He was unable to get on with some of his European assistants and he was badly served by his brother, Charles, who made mischief and provoked quarrels. The Universities Mission which went to Lake Nyasa in 1861 met disaster and had to be withdrawn in 1863. Mrs. Livingstone came to join her husband in 1862 and very soon died of malaria. At the end of 1863 the expedition was recalled and Livingstone, grimmer and quieter than ever, sailed a little river steamer across the ocean to Bombay and then returned to England. This expedition seemed to have failed in its objects; actually it had done much. It opened up the country which is now called Nyasaland and within fifteen years both missionaries and traders were at work there. Further, it brought to the public notice the appalling evil of the central African slave trade which was devastating all that part of Africa. "History must award the honour of the final overthrow of the Arab slave trade in the first place to two men, Livingstone who did most to inspire the attack, Kirk who did most to carry it through."¹⁸

Livingstone came to Africa again in 1865 with the intention of exploring the watershed of the Nile, the Zambesi and the Congo and looking for the source of the Nile. He entered Africa by way of the Rovuma River, skirted Lake Nyasa and explored the country between Lakes Tanganyika, Mweru and Bangweolu. He suffered much on this journey from illness and hunger and was only upheld in his lonely task by his firm religious faith. For a long time he was lost to the outer world and expeditions were fitted out to find him. One of these was organised by an American newspaper and led by H. M. Stanley, who later became a famous African explorer himself. Stanley chanced upon Livingstone in 1871 at Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika. This meeting is surely one of the most dramatic in African history; Stanley came to Livingstone's mud house and saw an old man 'pale and wearied, with a grey beard, wearing a bluish cap with a faded gold band round it, a red sleeved waistcoat and a pair of grey

tweed trousers.'¹⁰ Stanley walked forward and said, "Dr. Livingstone, I presume".

Stanley stayed four months with Livingstone and carried out a short exploration with him, but Livingstone would not



From Chamberlin's *Some Letters of Livingstone* by permission of Oxford University Press and the London Missionary Society.

LIVINGSTONE'S JOURNEYS

listen to his persuasion to return and give up the still unsolved problem of the source of the Nile. So Stanley went back alone and Livingstone spent some months exploring round

Lake Bangweolu, enduring incredible hardships. By March 1873 he was very ill and at the village of Chitambo, on April 25th 1873, he died. His faithful followers carried his body 1,500 miles to the coast, from where it was taken to London and buried with pomp and ceremony in Westminster Abbey.

Supplement

THE CENTRAL AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE

This was a very old trade and had been carried on by the Arabs for centuries. All slavery is bad, but the domestic slavery practised by the Arabs was reasonably humane. The same cannot be said of plantation slavery which is possibly the most brutal crime in the world's history. The British had taken the lead in this slave trade in the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century they took the lead in suppressing it. In Livingstone's time the trade was mostly in the hands of Arabs and Portuguese half-castes. The form the trade took was a fairly new development and was growing rapidly. This was the incitement of one tribe to raid another for slaves; the African people north of the Zambesi were, in fact, destroying themselves, urged by their own desire for guns and cloth, and the traders' desire for profits. The raiding party would surround a village, set it on fire, kill those who resisted and capture the rest. These unfortunates would be shackled with forked sticks placed round their necks and driven to the slave markets where the traders bought them. Those who fell out by the way were killed or just left to starvation and wild beasts. The standard price of slaves in 1859 was four yards of calico for a man, three for a woman and two for a child. As may be imagined, this trade caused appalling devastation over a wide area, a devastation which may justly be compared with that caused by the Zulu 'explosion' in South Africa. Livingstone was invariably horrified at what he saw and spared nothing to bring it to an end. Curiously enough, the fortunes of travel made it necessary for him often to accept the kindness and hospitality of the Portuguese who shared in the profits of the trade and even sometimes to travel in the company of Arab slave traders and their gangs of slaves. The Portuguese, although they knew that Livingstone was working against them, always showed him the greatest kindness, even if they sometimes quietly blocked his plans. Livingstone was much distressed that the new routes which he opened up were followed by slave traders, but he felt that nevertheless they must be

opened up for ordinary trade, if the slave trade was ever to be suppressed. Subsequent events proved him right.

Survey

LOBENGULA

In 1868 Mzilikazi, king of the Matabele, died and Nkulumano, (Kuruman—so called in honour of Moffat) the rightful heir, was missing. It was quite common for Zulu kings to drive out the heir and disperse the kraal in which he had been born, in order to prevent parties growing up which might rally round the heir and turn out the king. It was uncertain what had happened to Nkulumano, so the Matabele sent out messengers to find him, keeping the throne vacant in the meantime. After about two years, when the search seemed hopeless, Lobengula, a son of Mzilikazi by a lesser Swazi wife, was persuaded to take the throne and was duly made king. However, the Zwong Endaba* regiment, belonging to the old aristocratic section of the nation, refused to accept him and revolted. It should be mentioned that Nkulumano had lived in the kraal of the Zwong Endaba before his disappearance. Lobengula attacked their kraal, killed many and dispersed the rest. In the meantime, a man had been found in Natal who said he was Nkulumano, the missing heir. The remnants of the Zwong Endaba went to join him and an unsuccessful attempt was made to regain the throne. The upshot of it was that Nkulumano took refuge with Matjen the Mangwato chief, an enemy of Lobengula. When, shortly after, Matjen was overthrown by his own people, Nkulumano returned to Natal and lived there in obscurity. The effect of the whole affair was to make Lobengula's position not quite as secure as his father's had been and to deprive him of the support of the old pure Matabele aristocracy. There can be no doubt that these facts affected Lobengula in his dealings with Europeans who came to his country.

The Story of Intaba-ye-Zinduna. The supporters of Lobengula in the dispute believed that Nkulumano had been killed by his father's orders and some reason for thinking this was found in the things that happened when Mzilikazi first led his people into the country. Mzilikazi, with one section of the tribe, wandered far to the west of the hill to which they had been directed by Robert Moffat, while a group under an induna, Gundwane, found their way to a place near the Matopos Hills where they settled, calling it Gibixegu. Messengers were sent to bring Mzilikazi back there and when he arrived he built his kraal on top of the hill now called Thabas Induna, near the present Bulawayo. False accusations were made by jealous headmen against Gundwane, among them being that he had 'spoiled' the king's son, Nkulumano, who was in his charge. Gundwane and others were tried at the king's kraal on the hill, which was thereafter* called Intaba-ye-zinduna, and executed in another place.

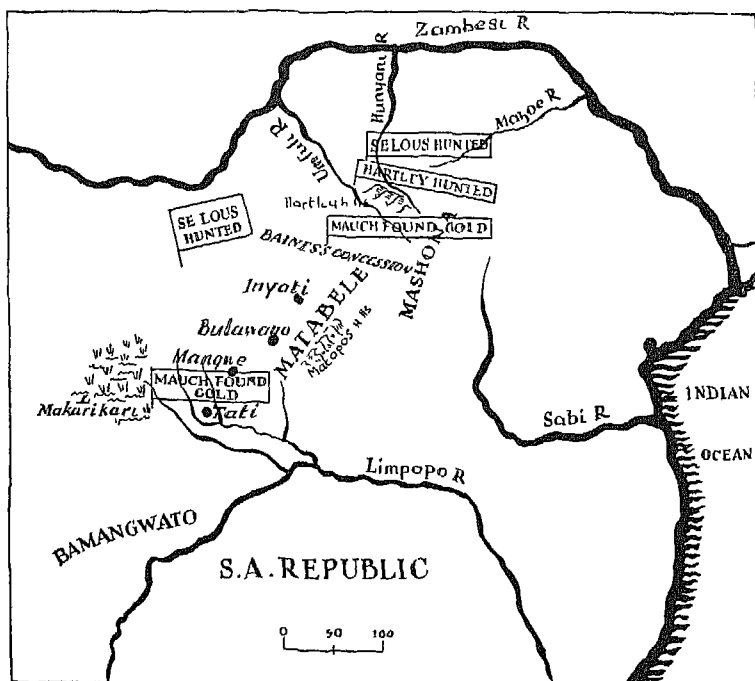
*Not to be confused with Zwangendaba, founder of the Angoni.

This story is the Matabele tradition ; another version is that when Mzilikazi failed to appear some indunas made Nkulumano king and were later executed by Mzilikazi, being hurled from the top of the hill ; this version is said to have been put about by Mncumbata, who was regent from 1868 to 1870 and wanted Lobengula to be king.

Survey

SEEKERS AFTER GOLD

The history of the Matabele country took another turn in 1867 when it became known that a German geologist, Karl Mauch, had found gold at Tati on the southern borders of Mzilikazi's country and in Mashonaland. In 1866 Mauch had visited Mashonaland in the company of Henry Hartley the hunter and they had



The Matabele Country, 1870-80

reached the upper Umfuli River. Hartley had shown Mauch unmistakable signs of ancient gold workings and Mauch examined the whole area. His report to the outer world provoked a great stirring of interest in these remote regions. The future was beginning to take shape and from this time onwards Europeans in increasing

numbers, gold-seekers, traders and hunters, began to go into the Matabele country. These discoveries in Mashonaland and Tati were important things which led to the founding of Rhodesia. At first, however, there was no thought of occupying the country. Men were concerned only with obtaining permission from Lobengula to mine for gold. Among these were Sir John Swinburne, whose company operated the Tati goldfield, and Thomas Baines, who obtained a concession from Lobengula to mine for gold between the Gwelo and Hunyani Rivers. As a matter of fact neither of these goldfields came to much at the time and it was not until interest was whipped up by the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1885 that the Mashonaland goldfield was actually worked.

Supplement

CONCESSIONS

Concessions figured so largely in the history of the Matabele country that it will be well at this stage to see exactly what a concession was. It was simply a permit from the ruler of an area to mine or hunt or hold land, as the case might be. A concession often shut out other seekers after gold, land or big game. An example of a concession is that granted by Lobengula to Baines, which runs as follows:

I, Lo Bengula, King of the Matabele Nation, do hereby certify that on the 9th day of April 1870, in the presence of Mr. John Lee, acting as an agent between myself and Mr. Thomas Baines, then and now commanding the expedition of the South African Goldfields Exploration Company, Limited, I do freely grant Mr. Thomas Baines, on behalf of the above named Company, full permission to explore, prospect and dig or mine for GOLD in all that part of the country lying between the Gwailo River on the south-west, and the Ganyana on the north-east, and that, etc., etc.

In witness of which, I hereto append my sign manual.

LO BENGULA (X) his mark.

Signed the 29th day of August, 1871.

Signed the same in witness hereof:

G. A. Phillips

F. Betts

Robert J. Jewell

John Lee

Naturally, Lobengula did not compose a document like this himself, but this and future concessions were carefully translated and explained to him before he put his mark on them.

Supplement

THOMAS BAINES

Thomas Baines was an explorer and artist who travelled widely in southern Africa. He had started life as apprentice to an 'ornamental painter' in England and spent some years travelling and sketching in the eastern Cape. He was official artist in the Kaffir War of 1850-52 and joined an Australian expedition in 1854-56. He was with Livingstone on his second journey on the lower Zambesi. Baines was 'artist and store-keeper' to the expedition and was harshly treated by Livingstone who, believing that Baines had been giving away the expedition's goods, sent him back to Cape Town in disgrace. Baines spent years trying to get himself cleared of this stain on his character but Livingstone would never make a public apology even when he knew that Baines was not really guilty. In 1861-63 Baines made a journey with James Chapman from the south-west coast of Africa to the Zambesi. On this journey he saw and painted the Victoria Falls. In 1868 he was invited to lead an expedition to explore the goldfields in the Matabele country and this was what brought him there in 1869. He made a trip to Mashonaland where he joined Hartley, the famous elephant hunter, and accompanied him to a point between the present city of Salisbury and Sinoia. He saw plenty of old gold workings and signs of gold and when he had found a likely place for mining he gave the name Hartley Hills to a line of granite hills there. He was actually in Matabeleland when Lobengula was installed as king but was not allowed to be present at the ceremony. During 1870 he was in Mashonaland again, taking possession of his mining claim at Hartley Hills. He then returned to Natal and found that the company which employed him was behaving in a most dishonest manner. It would not send enough money to pay its debts; Baines was loyal to it and in spite of chances to take on work which he would have liked much better, he stood by the company and paid the debts himself. He even bought some machinery and intended to go to Mashonaland and work the claim at his own expense. He never went back there, for in 1875 he fell ill in Durban and died.

Thomas Baines was one of those modest travellers who did not look for fame. Although his work was eventually recognised for its worth, during his lifetime he was little known and his praises little sung. He was a careful observer, mapper and naturalist and his innumerable drawings made this side of his work all the more valuable. While he was

not a great artist, he was a competent and exact one. He sketched anything and everything and his painting ranged from inn-signs to huge wall paintings. He really made his living by his skill with a pencil and brush.

He was a lively and entertaining companion, could sing a song and write verse for an occasion and he once had the savage Matabele warriors gasping with delight at his home-made marionettes. If he had a fault, it was that he was too slow to stand up for himself.

Survey

HUNTERS AND TRADERS

We have seen how missionaries and gold-seekers came to the country that is now Rhodesia. From the last years of Mzilikazi's reign there were also hunters and traders. In Lobengula's time there were nearly always a few white traders living in the country and hunters used to spend part of the year there. The great hunters were Henry Hartley, Petrus Jacobs, Baldwin, Viljoen and, most famous of all, F.C. Selous. These hunters made a business of collecting ivory; they killed an enormous number of elephants and eventually they much reduced the herds or drove them into remoter parts. They did not shoot other game so much except for food and particularly fine heads. To them hunting was a livelihood and not a sport.

Supplement

SELOUS AND LEE

Frederick Courtenay Selous. Selous arrived at Lobengula's kraal in 1872; he was only 21 and looked even younger. When he told the king he had come to shoot elephants, Lobengula burst out laughing and said, "Was it not steinbucks you came to hunt? Why, you're only a boy." Nevertheless, Selous was an extraordinarily successful hunter in Mashonaland and up towards the Zambesi. In his early trips he hunted on foot and used a cheap muzzle-loading smooth-bore gun firing a four-ounce round bullet backed up by a handful of gunpowder.

John Lee. A man who figures largely in the narratives of these times is John Lee. He was a hunter and trader of mixed English and Dutch origin who lived at Mangwe on the road into Matabeleland from Bechuanaland. He was the friend of both Mzilikazi and Lobengula and showed great kindness to the Europeans who passed that way. A recommendation from John Lee was a sure way to the friendship of the Matabele king.

Supplement

THE JESUIT MISSION

In 1879 a party of Jesuit missionaries under Father Depelchin came to the royal kraal and, after winning Lobengula's confidence and admiration with their skill at waggon painting and using a sewing-machine, were allowed to start a mission at Pandematenka, a trading station on the old road from the south to the Zambesi. This came to nothing, but a successful school was started at Empandeni in 1887 by Father Prestage and this was the real foundation of Roman Catholic mission work in the country.

Supplement

BULAWAYO

Both Mzilikazi and Lobengula moved about the country a good deal, but there was a capital. When Lobengula became king he established a new capital near the Khami River and called it Bulawayo. The word means 'killed,' not, as is sometimes said, 'the place of slaughter.' There is a story that after he had defeated the Zwong Endaba rebels, when he established his new town, the king said, "I have been killed by my people; I shall call it Bulawayo." Actually the name belongs also to a military kraal in Zululand to which Mzilikazi had belonged, but the Matabele will not have it that there is any connection between the two. Lobengula abandoned his first Bulawayo and built a second one where the present European town is situated. Although these places are often called kraals, 'town' would be a better word as they were very much bigger than any kraal seen in Rhodesia to-day.

Survey

CONCLUSION

It is clear that in the middle years of the nineteenth century there was great curiosity about south central Africa and a restless stream of European travellers, prospectors, missionaries, traders and hunters was trickling northward. After 1880 this stream became a mighty irresistible flood which swept away Lobengula, 'the last of the black kings' and, indeed, all vestiges of independent Bantu rule in south central Africa.

SOURCE READINGS

1. Extract from the Journal (written as a letter to her father) of Emily Moffat (Mrs. John Smith Moffat)

. At noon on Wednesday the oxen come to us, and we safely reach *En-yat-heen*. This looks quite an important place. There are very tidy native houses, and John says the king's is a

really nice kraal. Many of the people flock out to see us, but a thunderstorm drove them away.

Grandpapa and Mr. Sykes follow us on Thursday.

The king is really here, and this morning Mr. Thomas and John saw him: he expressed his joy, calling them *his friends*. On Friday morning Monyebe and some other chief Matabele accompanied the gentlemen to a fountain which is to be *our home*. Mrs. Thomas and I very anxiously look for their return, wondering what the fountain will prove. They seem a long time gone, but their beaming faces as they approach us tell of good news. 'The place' is rather more than a mile from the town, a very extensive and beautiful valley; it is all that they could desire, and we are assured that it is a permanent water. I cannot rest till I have been to view the land, and in the cool of the afternoon we go. *I like it much*, and oh, the delight of being at our journey's end is refreshing, and the hope of remaining here for usefulness is inspiring, for sometimes we have thought we might have to return, at least to leave the Matabele country.

December 26th. It is Monday morning. We have removed to our beautiful valley. . . . It is pleasant to send you a happy finale after so dreary a two months' time of trial. . . .

The past remains very enigmatical, and the present is, I think, equally unaccountable. May it only last! Until our arrival here we had purposely avoided giving the king any presents, as we did not wish him to act under the influence of bribery. On Thursday, however, we sent him a railway rug and a looking glass. He was very grateful in his expressions but requested us to take care of them. *He is an oddity!*

From 'The Matabele Mission'—Southern Rhodesia Government Archives.

Questions

1. What is the more correct version of the name 'En-yat-heen'?
2. To whom do the names 'John,' 'Grandpapa,' and 'the king' refer?
3. In what year was this extract written?

2. Extract from the Diary of Thomas Baines Tuesday, 21st (September, 1869).

Our Matabele friends parted from us, two or three remaining to see Mr. Wood home, while the rest prepared to go farther and pay the expenses of the expedition by a foray against the Mashona.

The drift of the Sarua is one of not more than ordinary difficulty, but the exhausted condition of the oxen rendered it necessary that extra precaution should be taken, and by Mr. Hartley's advice all the waggons were taken down to the drift, his own leading down the rough bank to the foot of the opposite ascent and the others following as closely as possible. The spans were then taken from

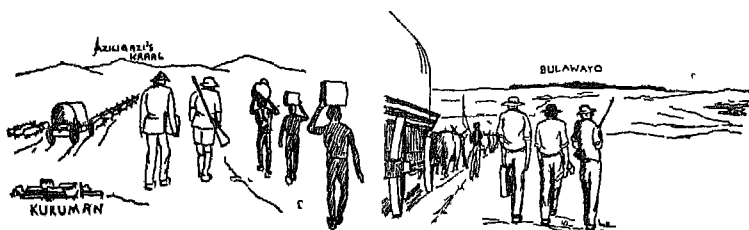
the hindmost waggons and doubled on to the leading ones, and with two and twenty oxen before it, urged on by half a dozen long waggon whips, and a crowd of dark-skinned, athletic Matabele pushing or tugging at every part where they could get a handhold, the heavy vehicle was dragged up to the smooth grassy plain beyond, the oxen unyoked and brought back to help a rearward waggon while the next foremost entered the drift and in like manner was forced through. At this time the scene was exceedingly picturesque and worthy of a better sketch than I had time to make—the five waggons with their weather-worn tents and sides and fittings sufficiently chafed and worn to take all glare of newness off them, the long spans of oxen and the crowd of naked Matabele round those that were making the passage, while the relief spans in long double lines were returning to assist the others; the clear water rippling like silver in the sunlight over the stones of the shallow drift or lying in deep transparent pools under the shadow of the willow-like trees upon the bank; the ladies and children on the grassy point surrounded by groups of native servants, and flocks of sheep or goats and groups of horses or loose oxen here and there, imparted life and animation to the landscape which, in another hour, would remain as bare and lifeless as before.

From 'The Northern Goldfields Diaries of Thomas Baines' Volume I— Southern Rhodesia Government Archives.

Questions

1. The Sarua river is near the village of Hartley. Find it on a map.
2. Who was Mr. Hartley?
3. What does the extract tell us about the crossing of rivers in Mashonaland?
4. What does the extract tell of Thomas Baines himself?

NORTHWARDS



Explorers and missionaries

Hunters, traders and prospectors

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1817—Robert Moffat arrived in Africa.
 1829—Robert Moffat first visited Mzilikazi.
 1837—The Matabele settled near the Matopos Hills.
 1841—David Livingstone arrived in Africa.
 1849—Livingstone discovered Lake Ngami.
 1855—Livingstone discovered the Victoria Falls.
 1859—Livingstone discovered Lake Nyasa.
 Inyati Mission founded.
 1866—Mauch discovered gold in the Matabele country.
 1868—Mzilikazi died.
 1871—Selous first visited the Matabele country. "

TIME CHARTS

Insert in the Time Chart, already made, important events in this Chapter.

Start a new Time Chart called 'The Origins of Rhodesia.'
 Look back to Chapter II for the earlier dates.

EXERCISES

- A. 1. **Problem** (to be attempted before reading the chapter):
 Examine the map on page 121. Why was the European advance into Central Africa from Cape Colony on a narrow front? What danger was there of this route being blocked?
2. Describe the *northward* movement of Bantu peoples resulting from the Zulu 'explosion.'
3. Describe briefly the political organisation of the Matabele.
- B. 4. Draw a picture of a Matabele warrior.
5. Imagine yourself to be one of the Mashona. Describe a Matabele attack on your village. Draw a picture of it.
6. Imagine yourself to be a European visitor to the kraal of Mzilikazi. Write a description of the Inxwala as you see it.
7. Draw a picture of the Inxwala as it might appear from a high place.
- A. 8. Explain carefully the difference between the European advance into Bantu territory in most of South Africa and the advance into the Matabele country.
- B. 9. Write an account of the life of Robert Moffat.
10. What was the value of Livingstone's work in Africa?
11. Write an account of Livingstone's conflict with the Transvalers.
12. Where did Livingstone's three great journeys take him? Mark his routes on a sketch map.
13. Write an account of Livingstone's second journey, that on the lower Zambesi.
14. Write an account of Livingstone's third journey and death.
15. Write an account of the central African slave trade in the late nineteenth century.

- A. 16. Write an account of the things that happened in connection with the accession of Lobengula.
- B. 17. Write an account of the life of Thomas Barnes.
- AB. 18. Pick out from the chapter and make a list of all the things which point forward to the founding of Rhodesia.

TEST QUESTIONS

- A.
 - 1. What people was the most powerful between the Zambesi and the Limpopo in the eighteenth century?
 - 2. Name the tribes which went *north* as a result of the Zulu 'explosion.'
 - 3. What was the course followed by the Matabele in their move from Zululand to the Matopos Hills?
 - 4. What was the aristocratic section of the Matabele tribe? Who were the Holi?
 - 5. What kind of people comprised the spearhead of the European advance into the Matabele country?
 - 6. What was the principal objective of the *final* occupation of the Matabele country?
 - 7. What was 'The Missionaries' Road'?
 - 8. Why were the Transvalers never able to spread westwards over the Missionaries' Road?
 - 9. For what two things is Robert Moffat most famous?
 - 10. What were Livingstone's principal discoveries?
 - 11. Who found gold in the Matabele country in 1866?
 - 12. Who obtained gold concessions from Lobengula about 1870 (two people)?
 - 13. What was the object of the hunters who went to the Matabele country?
- B.
 - 14. Give the meanings of the following words: tribute, awe-inspiring, prowess, depredations, devastation, 'lionised.'
 - 15. What was the Inxwala besides being a tribal dance?
 - 16. Why did the king throw an assegai during the Inxwala?
 - 17. What people did Moffat call upon to help to repel the Mantati?
 - 18. What treaty was arranged on Moffat's second visit to Mzilikazi (1835)?
 - 19. The quarrel between the missionaries and the Transvalers was not only about the closing or keeping open of the Missionaries' road. What else was there?
 - 20. Where was the first mission station in the Matabele country?
 - 21. How did David Livingstone spend his boyhood?
 - 22. What was Livingstone's main purpose in opening up routes to central Africa from the coast?
 - 23. What marvellous sight did Livingstone see on his first journey?
 - 24. What was the result of Livingstone's exploration of the Shire River and Lake Nyasa?

25. What was Livingstone trying to find on his last journey?
26. What was the price in cloth of slaves in central Africa in Livingstone's time?
27. What is a Concession?
28. What did Lobengula say when Selous first asked his permission to hunt elephant?
29. What kind of gun did Selous use on his early hunting trips?
30. What is the meaning and origin of the name Bulawayo?

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

Cambridge History of the British Empire, volume VIII, references in Chapters XII, XIV, XVI.

E. A. Walker—A History of South Africa; references in Chapters VII, VIII, X.

R. Moffat—Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa.

D. Livingstone—Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa.

F. C. Selous—A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa.

J. S. Moffat—The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat.

Edwin Smith—Robert Moffat.

Southern Rhodesia Government Archives—The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat (Oppenheimer Series, No. 1—2 volumes.)

Southern Rhodesia Government Archives—The Matabele Mission of John and Emily Moffat (Oppenheimer Series, No. 2).

McNair—Livingstone the Liberator.

Mahaus—The Life of Selous.

J. P. R. Wallis—Thomas Baines.

Southern Rhodesia Government Archives—The Northern Goldfields Diaries of Thomas Baines (Oppenheimer Series, No. 3—3 volumes).

THE OCCUPATION OF MASHONALAND

Survey

REASONS FOR THE OCCUPATION OF MASHONALAND

We have seen in the last chapter how a steady tide of Europeans was setting to the north along the strip of land between the Transvaal and the Kalahari desert. This tide was composed of missionaries, traders, hunters, prospectors and explorers. In 1880 there was still no thought of Europeans in large numbers going up into south central Africa to live permanently. Yet, before the end of 1890, white men had established themselves in Mashonaland, the north eastern part of Lobengula's territories, and a British commercial company was ruling that area. In tracing the origins of this European surge forward we must look to three or four things. The first is gold and the second is the British urge to spread over the face of the earth, which is sometimes called Imperialism. Furthermore, the movement was a part of the general European scramble for Africa at this time. It is possible, too, to see in it a move closely connected with the political ambitions of Rhodes in South Africa.*

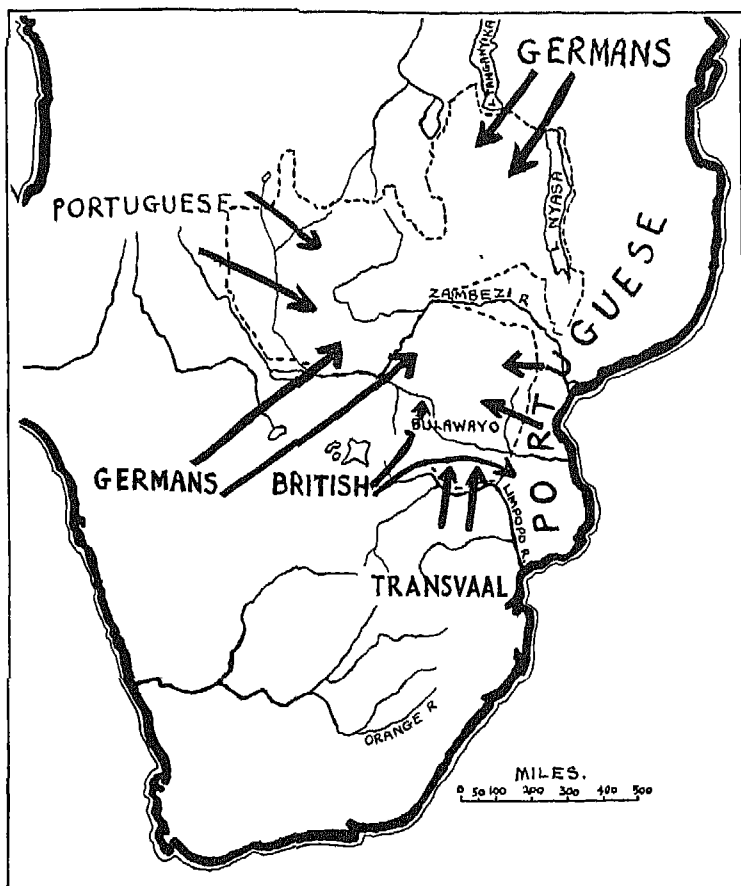
Gold. The little gold rush which followed the discoveries of Mauch did not come to much. There was more interest in the diamond fields and after the death of Baines in 1875 there was little more than spasmodic working of the Tati goldfield. The discovery of the goldfield on the Witwatersrand in 1885, however, aroused interest afresh and it was widely believed that a second Rand would be discovered in Mashonaland. It was this belief as much as anything which took men to the flies and smells of Lobengula's kraal and eventually to Mashonaland.

British Imperialism. A good deal of enthusiasm had been stirred up in England by the journeys of Livingstone and Stanley, and missionaries had established themselves in central Africa, but the British made no attempt to occupy any fresh part of Africa until prodded into it by the activities of the Germans, the Portuguese and the Transvalers. Once prodded, however, the British acted swiftly and with decision when it seemed vital to their interests. Even if the British Government was not always quick to make a move, Englishmen like Cecil Rhodes more than made up for it.

The European Scramble for Africa. The discoveries of H. M. Stanley led to the scramble of European nations for parts of Africa

*See below p. 147

as colonies—sources of raw material, markets for manufacturers and homes for emigrants. The protection of one's own industries was an immediate cause of this desire to possess colonies. The British, at that time the world's greatest manufacturers and consequently devoted to free trade, saw no especial need to join in the scramble until 1884 when Bechuanaland, the only open route from the south to the interior of Africa, was threatened.



Occupation of Mashonaland

Bechuanaland. As we saw in Chapters V and VII the Transvaal was inclined to press outwards beyond its frontiers. Transvaal adventurers would intervene in the quarrels of independent chiefs, receive grants of land as payment and then set up small republics.

In this way the republics of Stellaland and Goshen came into existence in 1882 on the western border of the Transvaal. It was highly probable that the next step would be that the Transvaal would take over these two republics and the road to the north would be closed to the British. To add to the danger, in 1883 the Germans occupied South West Africa and threatened to join hands with the Transvaal or even with Germans or Portuguese in East Africa. At this stage Cecil Rhodes, now a member of the Cape Parliament, stepped into the arena. Rhodes had among his many objects the British occupation of the interior of Africa. He tried without success to persuade the Cape Government to interfere in Bechuanaland as he thought that northern expansion was the special business of the Cape Colony and he distrusted the 'Imperial factor' by which he meant the British Government. Actually, Rhodes wanted British expansion to come direct from the colonies. He was forced to give up this idea on account of the very disunited state of South Africa as a whole. Holding the opposite view, that the British Government ought to lead the way, was the Rev. John Mackenzie, a missionary with wide experience in southern Bechuanaland. In the event it was a British expedition under Sir Charles Warren which seized Bechuanaland (including Stellaland and Goshen) and in 1885 the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland were established. This brought British authority up to the borders of the Matabele territory of Lobengula and the centre of interest now shifts to this land. It should be noted that when the Transvaal signed the London Convention in 1884, it agreed not to expand east or west. Nothing was said about the north. Furthermore, the Portuguese were now alive to the danger to their interests and were soon to lay a claim to a belt of territory right across Africa and including much that is now Rhodesia. In 1885, therefore, Lobengula was in the unenviable position of having three white nations on his borders, all of whom were waiting for an opportunity to flood over his lands.

Survey

THE STRUGGLE FOR MATABELE-MASHONALAND

There was little time to be lost and Rhodes saw this more clearly than anyone. The first move was in 1885 when three British officers were sent to tell Lobengula about the establishment of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Then, in 1887, the Transvaal sent an emissary to Lobengula and made a treaty of friendship with him. Hearing of this, Rhodes urged the British High Commissioner (representing the British Government in South Africa) to declare the Matabele country within the British 'sphere of influence'—in fact to warn off other nations. The High Commissioner could hardly do this without authority, but he could and did send the Rev. J. S. Moffat to make enquiries. This was a son of Robert Moffat and himself a former missionary among the Matabele; he had been sent to

Bechuanaland as Assistant Commissioner with instructions to keep in touch with Lobengula. Lobengula said that he had promised nothing to the Transvaal. Moffat therefore persuaded him to sign a treaty by which he agreed not to make a treaty with anyone else nor to give up any territory without British consent. This famous Moffat Treaty (1888) was the first of the three important documents which mark the birth of Rhodesia. It was the result of the actions of Rhodes. The Moffat Treaty brought protests from the Transvaal and the Portuguese. It also let loose a flood of seekers after concessions from Lobengula. The most important of these represented very rich men and among them were Rudd, Maguire and Thompson who had been sent by Rhodes.

The Rudd Concession. Rhodes, who was all along the moving spirit in this northward drive, had come to the conclusion that neither the Cape Government nor the British Government would carry out his plans. He therefore decided to carry them out by means of a Chartered Company, that is, a commercial company backed up by the authority of the British Government. Incidentally, this was a return to a seventeenth century method of opening up new territory. His first step was to arrange that the funds of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., the immense diamond mining firm which he controlled, could be used for purposes other than diamond mining. Then he sent Rudd, Thompson and Maguire to Lobengula to obtain a concession over the minerals in Lobengula's country. They had many advantages over their rivals; to begin with they had more money behind them than anyone else. Then, although they were private individuals acting for Rhodes in his private capacity, they had the moral support of the representatives of the British Government and of the Rev. Charles Helm, who interpreted for them. At any rate, on October 30th, 1888, Lobengula signed the Rudd Concession which gave its holders charge over all minerals and metals in his land and the right to exclude other people seeking mining or land rights. The Concession did not give any right to hold land or to govern the country. Lobengula, in exchange, was to receive 1,000 rifles, 100,000 rounds of ammunition, £100 a month and an armed steamboat on the Zambesi (or £500 instead). Rudd then took the Concession to Cape Town, nearly dying of thirst on the way. He left Maguire and Thompson to watch their interests, but he also left behind several disappointed rivals who lost no time in persuading Lobengula that he had been duped.

The Charter. Rhodes's next step was to obtain a Charter from the British Government. This means that he was asking for the backing of the British Government, at no expense to them, in the occupation of Mashonaland in terms of the Rudd Concession. But his ambitions did not stop short at Mashonaland. He brought about the amalgamation of all those who had interests in south central Africa and this new group asked the British Government for a Charter giving them power to open up all south central

Africa not yet occupied by European powers. The enormous scope of Rhodes's proposals fairly took his friends' breath away, but the Charter was granted (October 1889). The Charter established the British South Africa Company and gave it power not only to use the Concessions it might hold but, subject to the consent of the existing rulers, to govern an enormous area, the boundaries of which were not clearly defined.

While these arrangements were being made in London, all was very far from well in Bulawayo. In spite of the reassuring presence of Maguire and Thompson and of a visit by Dr. Jameson, Lobengula was persuaded by disappointed rivals of the Rhodes group that he had, in fact, signed away his kingdom. He sent two indunas to London to see if there really was a Great White Queen. The indunas were a curiosity in London and were honoured and entertained. They did see the Queen, who sent a message by them to Lobengula. During 1889 several letters were exchanged by Lobengula and Lord Knutsford, the Colonial Secretary. The burden of these letters was that Lobengula asked for and obtained an assurance that he had *not* signed away his kingdom and that the people coming to dig in his country would come 'as his servants,' that is, they would not set up a separate government without his consent.

The climax of Lobengula's uneasiness came in September when the induna Lotje, who had all along advised him to give in, was murdered with all his family, by Lobengula's orders. Thompson left hurriedly. Jameson, urgently sent up by Rhodes, stayed for some time and calmed the king down. By this time the Charter was granted and preparations were in hand for an entry into Mashonaland. Jameson left in February 1890, by which time Lobengula, though still grumbling, had committed himself to the Concession by accepting the first consignment of rifles. Jameson went back again in April 1890 to tell Lobengula of the route the Mashonaland expedition was to follow and, in general, to calm his suspicions. By June 1890 the expedition was ready, the High Commissioner gave it leave to start and the Occupation of Mashonaland began.

Survey

RHODES *versus* LOBENGULA

These are the bare facts; but history cannot stop short there. It is necessary to dig more deeply and find the motives which drove men on. We have already traced the occupation of Mashonaland back to the desire for gold and the desire for British expansion. If we go back a stage further we can fit it into the whole story of European expansion in southern Africa, of which most of the earlier chapters of this book treat. Looking back, we have the impression that it was inevitable, that it *had* to happen. It was inevitable in the sense that if a stronger people comes into conflict

with a weaker, the stronger is bound to win, unless some even greater force holds it back. The history of South Africa shows that the only force which could deliberately have stopped white expansion was the British Government. In the case of the occupation of Mashonaland the British Government took a hand by the very act of granting the Charter. This being so, it is clear that Lobengula and the Matabele had no chance whatever of resisting it and the advice of the induna Lotje to Lobengula to submit and make the best of it was sound. Now, although the British Government did actually support the occupation it had to be driven to it and this is where Rhodes comes in. Rhodes was a very great man; he was a very rich man but his urge to spread British power into central Africa was not a rich man's urge to become even richer. Rhodes was also a great imperialist; he sincerely believed that the British were the finest people in the world and that nothing could be better for the rest of it than to be under British rule. An idea so colossally impudent as this could only have been held at a time when Great Britain was, in fact, the leading nation in the world outside the continent of Europe.

Rhodes was also a South African statesman: his vision extended to a Union of South Africa and his political life was largely devoted to bringing it about. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the occupation of Mashonaland was part of a process of encircling the Transvaal, by which he hoped to force it into union with the rest of South Africa. It is probable that Rhodes was less interested in the gold and land of Mashonaland than in securing administrative rights over the country. It would seem that to Rhodes Mashonaland was not only the key to central Africa but also the keystone of the arch of South Africa.

These are special reasons why Rhodes wanted the interior. Add to them the motives which he shared with the others engaged upon the scramble for Africa—markets, raw materials, a justifiable fear of exclusion by nations wedded to a policy of protection—and we have some idea of the springs behind the immense driving force of the man.

Rhodes's opponent in the opening up of Mashonaland was Lobengula, king of the Matabele. Lobengula has commonly been compared unfavourably with his father, Mzilikazi. Let it be accepted that both were men of their time and place, rulers of a savage military tribe, with all that that implies. The great crisis in the histories of all the Bantu tribes of southern Africa in the nineteenth century was the challenge of European invasion. This challenge was not offered to Mzilikazi; the only Europeans that came to his country were individual missionaries, hunters and traders. Lobengula had to stand up against the full weight of expansive capitalism and imperialism. His ultimate failure to stand up against it should not blind us to the fact that he showed a shrewdness and political wisdom greater than have commonly been credited to him. His neighbours, Khama of the Mangwato and Lewanika of the Rotse,

compromised with the enemy and saved themselves. This course was not open to Lobengula owing to the nature of his people. But *he* knew, and his people did not, that open resistance to European pressure would be more disastrous than giving way; therefore he was generally friendly towards Europeans, ran considerable risks for them and went as far as he dared in making concessions to them. Even so, it is impossible to believe that he really understood what he was doing or what forces were ranged against him when he signed the Moffat Treaty and the Rudd Concession. Even Moffat did not foresee what the Treaty would lead to and was horrified when the succession of events led to the destruction of the Matabele and the death of Lobengula. When, during 1889, Lobengula was listening to the suggestions of Rhodes's opponents and trying to wriggle out of the Rudd Concession, his struggles were quite vain. In London, events were moving inexorably towards the granting of the Charter and when that was sealed the days of Lobengula and the Matabele were numbered. The British Government, in granting the Charter, gave the British South Africa Company power to govern. But Lobengula had not signed away his right to rule in his own lands; even if he had wanted to it was impossible for a Bantu chief to barter away the lands of his tribe. When the occupation of Mashonaland began in 1890, the fact that Lobengula had granted no land rights, no authority to settle disputes and no power to make laws was simply disregarded. The right of the British South Africa Company to Mashonaland was the right of conquest.

Supplement

BULAWAYO IN THE 'EIGHTIES

The town of Bulawayo at this time was situated on what is now the north-western part of modern Bulawayo. It was oval in shape and about two miles round. A fence of poles and thorn-bushes surrounded the whole town and just inside this fence were the huts of the people, about six deep. In the middle there was an open space of about 70 acres and right in the middle of this was the king's private enclosure. The king's enclosure was surrounded by a very thick pole fence; it contained the sacred goat kraal, a kraal for slaughter cattle, the king's brick house, his waggon house and waggon, and huts for some of his wives and attendants. The goat kraal was strictly private and was the place where the king went for the purposes of rain-making and other magic ceremonies. The brick house, which had a verandah and rooms at each end, had been built for Lobengula by an old sailor called Halyott. The king occupied it only in very cold weather but it served for a store-house for the pictures and other presents which he received from Europeans. He preferred to live in

his waggon and often used it for interviews, though sometimes he sat on the gnarled roots of an old tree. Outside the entrance to the goat kraal was a huge pile of the horns and skins of slaughtered cattle, which gave forth a revolting smell and attracted millions of flies. When Lobengula held interviews he sat surrounded by indunas and attendants, many of these kneeling slave girls. People who wished to speak to him had to approach in a crouching position, shouting words of praise such as, 'Eater of Men,' 'Calf of a Black Cow,' 'Stabber of Heaven,' etc., and then sidle into a place among the courtiers sitting round. European visitors were expected to sit on the ground and usually did, unless they were representatives of the British Government like Sir Sidney Shippard, who brought his own chair. Europeans, however, did not crawl into Lobengula's presence. Visitors were always served with large quantities of beef and beer; the beef was awkward to eat but very well cooked and tasty and the beer was very good, especially when it was that brewed for the king's own use. Beer was brought and handed round by slave girls. The king himself had an immense appetite for beef and beer. Europeans often gave him presents of champagne and brandy but he did not drink much of these himself. Those of his wives who lived at Bulawayo used to march up to him every morning to bid him the time of day and they made a great point of observing the correct order in which they were to pass into the king's presence. Actually, he had over eighty wives, but many of them lived in outlying kraals, where they might have some little authority. Women, as a rule, played little part in the government of a Bantu people, but a clever wife or sister of the chief might have much influence. In the earlier years of his reign Lobengula relied a great deal on his sister, known as Nini, a fat, good-tempered and shrewd woman. Unfortunately she was the victim of jealousy, was accused of witchcraft and executed by the king's order. Generally, in the difficult days of 1889 and 1890, the influence of the king's wives was in favour of a peaceable and moderate attitude towards Europeans.

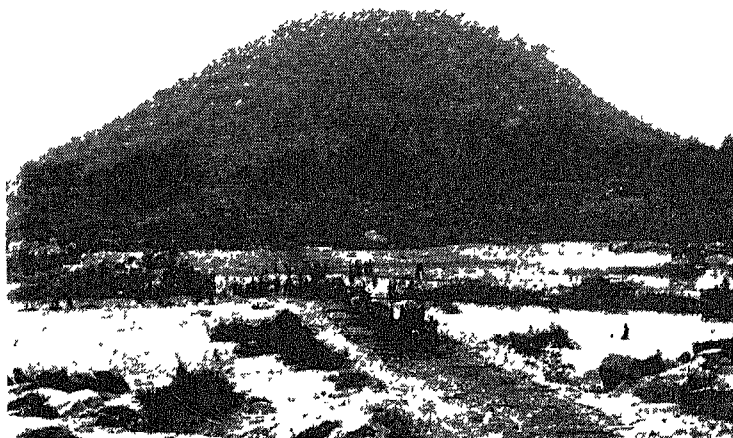
Lobengula. All who met Lobengula agree that he could never be mistaken for anything but a king. Sir Sidney Shippard described him thus: "He was completely naked save for a very long piece of dark cloth rolled very small and wound round his body, which it nowise concealed, and a monkey skin worn as a small apron and about the size of a Highland sporran. In person, he is rather tall, though considerably

shorter than Khama, and very stout, though by no means unwieldy. His colour is a fine bronze and he evidently takes great care of his person, and is scrupulously clean. He wears the leather ring* over his forehead as a matter of course. Altogether he is a very fine-looking man, and in spite of his obesity, has a most majestic carriage. Like all the Matabele warriors, who despise a stooping gait in a man, Lo Bengula walks quite erect, with his head thrown somewhat back, and his broad chest expanded, and as he marches along at a slow pace with his long staff in his right hand, while all the men around shout out his praises, he looks his part to perfection."²⁰

A king he certainly was but king of a proud and savage people to whom human life was not at all sacred. Lobengula committed many brutal crimes and ordered the death of hundreds of people. He would excuse himself by saying that he had no prisons and ruthless punishment was the only way he could keep his turbulent people in order. For most of his reign he was trying desperately and, in the end, unsuccessfully to hold the balance between his own wild nation and the rich and enterprising Europeans who were pressing in on him. Lobengula was nearly always kind to Europeans and he kept his word to them. There were many occasions when the young warriors only wanted a word to kill all the white people in the country. Lobengula said, "They are my friends. If you want to do some killing, go to Kimberley where there are plenty of white men who have no claim on me." Missionaries lived in his country unharmed and, though he was impervious to Christianity, he trusted them more than he did other Europeans. The final test of his goodwill was in 1893 when, his regiments defeated, his town in flames and himself in flight, his orders that Europeans still in Bulawayo were not to be harmed were strictly obeyed.

He had a strong personality, a quick understanding and a sense of humour which occasionally flashed out. Of course he believed in witchcraft, like all Bantu, and no doubt many of his crimes can be ascribed to this belief. He had to 'make rain' in due season and was very clever at observing the signs that the rains were about to start. Merciless tyrant as he was, he was successful in winning the regard and liking of many of the Europeans who knew him; looking back on him, we cannot but feel a shred of sympathy with Lobengula, the last of the savage kings of southern Africa.

*A ring made of hair and fat or skin, fixed to the hair and worn by important Zulu and Matabele.



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XXXVII CROSSING THE LUNDI RIVER 1890



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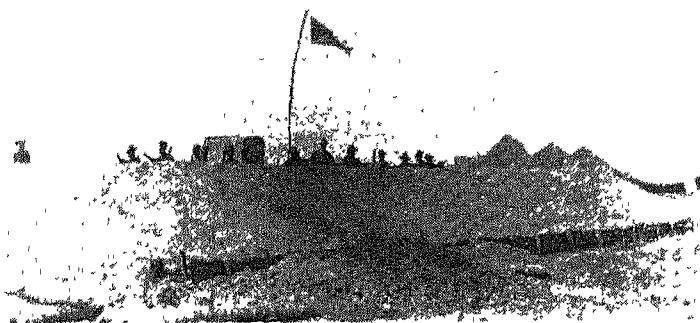
XXXVIII PIONEER LAGER NEAR LUNDI RIVER



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XXXIX A MASHONA KRAAL (CHIBI'S)

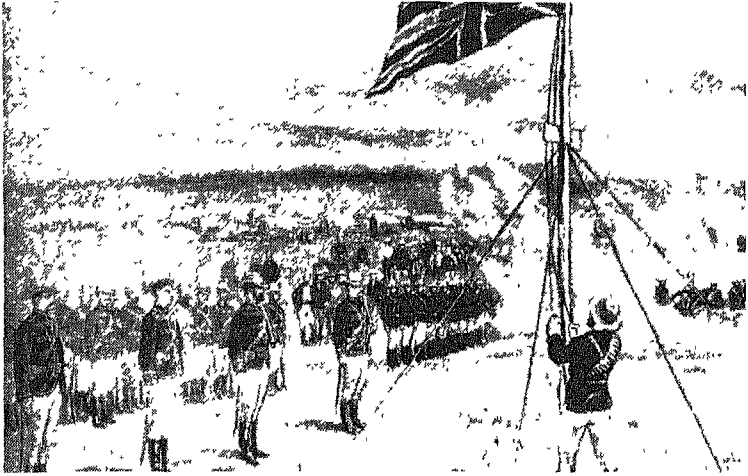
The Mashona often built their kraals on rocky hills for safety from the Matabele



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives.]

L FORT CHARTER

This fort, which was near the present Marshbrook, was typical of the Pioneer forts



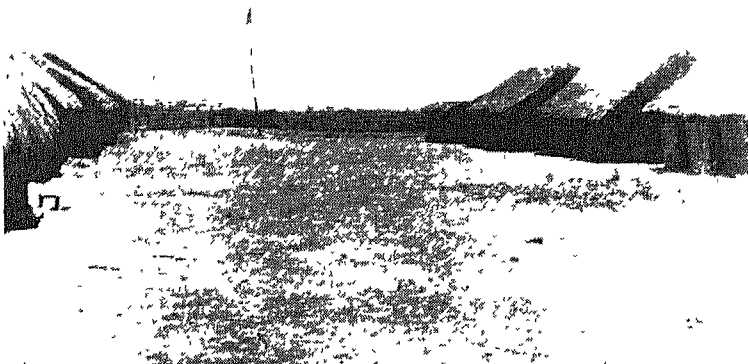
[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

XLII HOISTING THE FLAG
At Fort Salisbury, September 13th, 1890.



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XLII. CAMP AT FORT SALISBURY
This site is somewhere near the present position of the Cathedral.



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XLIII FORT SALISBURY, 1890
The actual fort stood on the site of Cecil Square



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XLIV AN EARLY DWELLING IN SALISBURY



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XLV. PIONEER STREET, SALISBURY, 1892



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XLVI BULAWAYO 1894



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XLVII SALISBURY IN 1896



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XLVIII MAIN STREET, UMTALI, IN 1897



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XLIX CAPTAIN LENDY AT FORT VICTORIA

Captain Lendy is here seen with the Fort Victoria Police. Note the Maxim gun in the foreground and the tower of the fort in the background

Supplement

EUROPEANS IN BULAWAYO

In Lobengula's time there were always some Europeans in Matabeleland.* There were the mission stations which we have already mentioned in Chapter VII.

Traders. There were traders who more or less lived in Bulawayo. Many of these played little or no part in political events of the time. The names of others, such as Fairbairn, Dawson and Usher, figure prominently in the records of the exciting years 1885 to 1893. They made their living by exchanging trade goods, mostly beads and calico, for skins, ivory, gum, etc. Their presence was not objectionable to the Matabele; indeed it was really the only means the Matabele had of increasing their real wealth other than by robbery, and it was almost their only contact with the outer world. The missionaries and the traders were generally on friendly terms. Far-seeing missionaries saw that their only real hope of success lay in the civilising of the Matabele and the work of the traders certainly contributed to this. The traders did not live actually in the town of Bulawayo. Fairbairn and Dawson had a store near the river which ran about 700 yards from the town. A little to the south of this was the outspan for visiting traders' waggons.

Hunters. Hunters came and went; Selous, as we have seen, had been paying visits for many years. Other notable hunters were Westbeach, van Rooyen and G. A. Phillips (nicknamed 'Elephant' Phillips) who was a very big and very good-humoured man. He had been at the Zwong Endaba battle in 1870 and had doctored the wounded (and wounds from the stones, pieces of iron and bullets fired from old muzzle-loaders needed some doctoring!).

Entry to Matabeleland. Anyone entering Matabeleland was stopped at the border post and had to state his business. A message was sent to the king and, if permission was given, the visitor was allowed to go on to Bulawayo. There he would give the king presents and ask for leave to go hunting or trading. The king would then decide whether or not to 'give him the road.' Usually a Matabele accompanied the party as guide and spy. Nobody was allowed to prospect for gold without special permission; Lobengula was extremely nervous of prospectors.

After 1885, the year in which the British seized Bechuana-

*The country in which the Matabele themselves lived, as distinct from that over which they raided, was an area within a radius of about sixty miles of Bulawayo.

land, the stream of visitors to Bulawayo became more than a trickle.

The First Official Visit. As early as 1885, Edwards, Maund and Haynes, then British officers, had come to tell Lobengula officially of the occupation of Bechuanaland. At this stage few were thinking of the occupation of any of the Matabele country; this visit was simply designed to make contact with Lobengula whose territory bordered on territory that had just come under British control.

Sam Edwards, one of the party, had been a frequent visitor to Bulawayo. He was the son of an old-time missionary who had turned trader. Born in Bechuanaland, 'Samu,' as he was called, had an unrivalled knowledge of that part of Africa and spoke the native languages. He had visited Mzilikazi in 1854 with Robert Moffat and he was an intelligence officer in Sir Charles Warren's expedition to Bechuanaland in 1884. He was interested in mining and in 1887 Lobengula put him in charge of Tati, which Lobengula considered part of his dominions. He was quiet and well liked (described, in fact, as a 'dear old man'). He had a passion for English history and every night would read a few pages of a book called 'British Battles by Land and Sea.' In his old age he left Africa and travelled widely over the world. He died at a very great age in 1922.

The Chameleons and the Fly. Lobengula once remarked that he was the fly, the English and Boers the chameleons; when they were close enough they would strike. It was in 1887 that both made the first move. The Transvaal sent Piet Grobler to make a treaty with Lobengula. Grobler was no sooner on his way back to the Transvaal than the Rev. J. S. Moffat appeared.

The Rev. J. S. Moffat. This was a son of Robert Moffat; he had joined his father as a missionary and was one of the founders of the Matabele Mission at Inyati in 1859. In 1865 he had returned to Bechuanaland where he helped his father. In 1879 he became a government official in the Transvaal when it was British and later in Basutoland. In 1887 he had been sent to Bechuanaland as an Assistant Commissioner and from there had gone to Bulawayo, his visit having been instigated by Rhodes. He was on an official mission and had an escort of police. He had been sent partly to find out the truth about the Transvaal treaty and he did not make the mistake of hurrying Lobengula. The king said that he had not signed a treaty with the Transvaal and Moffat persuaded

him to sign a treaty with the British. This was in 1888. Moffat stayed in Bulawayo for some time after the Treaty was signed; he was actually the agent of the British Government, though not officially. In 1889 he was asked to be the Government representative in Bulawayo, paid by the Chartered Company. He somewhat unwillingly accepted this position which, however, he did not hold for long. Like all the missionaries, he felt it his duty to protect the Bantu against European pressure, but he had no illusions about the Matabele. He saw that the tide of white enterprise was setting northward and realised that the solution of the Matabele problem was the breaking up of the tribe. He recognised that the Matabele Mission had had very little effect on the Matabele, who were like a sand castle of savagery being engulfed by the tide of civilisation. The castle *must* collapse. Moffat saw this clearly but he did not want to be the means by which the collapse was brought about. He hoped that the Treaty would ensure that justice would be done to the Matabele and was horrified at the eventual result of it in 1893.

Moffat was a deeply religious man and much respected by the white men who lived in Bulawayo. His personality, no less than his official position, had a soothing effect on a difficult situation whenever he arrived there.

Concession Seekers. The signing of the Moffat Treaty was the signal for a rush of visitors to Bulawayo, even greater than before. It was no longer just leave to hunt or to trade in a small way or to start a mission that they wanted, but concessions for gold-mining or trading rights throughout the country. Nor were they all individuals working on their own account. Some of them were adventurous young men such as Chadwick, Wilson and Boggie, but the ones that really mattered were the representatives of companies and important financiers in London and South Africa. Rhodes, thinking on a big scale, sent Rudd, Thompson and Maguire. Rudd was an Englishman, a business partner of Rhodes and an M.P. at the Cape; Maguire had been Rhodes's friend since his Oxford days; Thompson was a South African, once a farmer on the borders of Bechuanaland but at this time a civil servant. Then there was E. A. Maund, who had been one of Warren's officers in Bechuanaland and had been to see Lobengula in 1885. He was an attractive man, who won some influence over the king. He was working for George Cawston, a London financier who had the cautious backing of the Colonial Office in London. The third important group of concession-seekers

represented Lippert, a German whose headquarters was Johannesburg and whose wealth and financial power were considerable. Johann Colenbrander, though he later worked for Rhodes, first came to Bulawayo with this party. Colenbrander had had an exciting life in Zululand; he was said to have led a Zulu *impi* in the inter-tribal wars after 1879 and bore on his body the scars of a desperate fight to the death with a Zulu warrior.

During 1888 all these people and many others hung round Lobengula, talking, making offers and watching each other suspiciously. Life was not easy for any of them. It was not only that it was very uncomfortable to live so far from civilisation, but the Matabele warriors were extremely unpleasant company. They were insolently aggressive when they were not begging for presents and in the backs of all minds was the fear that Lobengula might lose control of his warriors and all the white men might be slaughtered. Maguire, a fastidious man, suffered so much from the dirt and flies that nothing would prevent him from going down to the river for a wash, where he was found by the inevitable crowd of curious Matabele. When he began to clean his teeth and spat out pink tooth-powder the watchers were overcome and, exclaiming, "Witchcraft! Magic!" ran off to tell the king, taking Maguire's clothes with them. The unfortunate man had to make his way to the town with nothing but a toothbrush, to recover his clothes and explain his actions. Then there were the interminable *indaba* in the smelly enclosure when the indunas asked hundreds of questions over and over again.

Sir Sidney Shippard. While the concession-seekers were thus swarming round Lobengula like wasps round a jam-pot, there arrived in October, 1888, Sir Sidney Shippard, Deputy Commissioner of Bechuanaland, with an escort of sixteen Bechuanaland Border Police commanded by Major Goold-Adams. The size of this escort was magnified by rumour and considerable excitement arose among the Matabele. They said that a white *impi* was coming to attack them and that Maguire had come on ahead to tell Moffat about it. The party was stopped at the border and subjected to very insulting and aggressive treatment at the hands of the border guard. It appeared that this regiment wanted to provoke the B.B.P. escort into retaliation, so that they could fall upon the party and destroy it. They were not successful. Many strange stories were spread around Bulawayo about Sir Sidney Shippard (a short bald man with side-whiskers) by Matabele

who had seen him. A spy had seen him having a bath and reported strange witchcraft with white *muti* and a vegetable from which he squeezed water over himself. He was supposed to be a great man but he did not match up with the Matabele idea of a great man. Indeed they said he was 'so small and thick that they cannot describe him.' Then his waggon was so small that it was only large enough to hold him. It was reported that he crawled into it like an ant-bear going into its hole and that he had scraped all the hair off his head, going in and out of it. His head, it was said, was like an ostrich egg. Idle and foolish tales, no doubt, but they show the nervous condition of the Matabele at the time. Actually, when Shippard did arrive he interviewed Lobengula, dressed in the formal black tail coat of the time and approaching Lobengula as the representative of a sovereign at least equal in importance to the Matabele king. Shippard's visit was very valuable to Rhodes because he reassured Lobengula, made him realise that the British Government was concerned and told him that Rudd, Thompson and Maguire were men whom he could trust.

Supplement

FROM CONCESSION TO OCCUPATION

The Rudd Concession. But Lobengula still hesitated. Then, on October 30th, 1888, he suddenly said that he would grant a concession to Rudd, Thompson and Maguire. Quickly they brought the paper to him, fetched witnesses and asked the Rev. Charles Helm to be present. Lobengula made his mark, the document was witnessed and Helm signed a certificate that it had been interpreted and explained to the king. With a light heart Rudd set out for the south with the precious paper, the king having 'given him the road.' Thompson and Maguire stayed on in Bulawayo to guard the interests of 'The Matabele Concession,' as their party was commonly called.

The Indunas go to London. The news soon leaked out and the rival concession-seekers redoubled their efforts to sow doubt in Lobengula's mind. One line they took was to tell him that there was no Great White Queen, as he had been led to believe. This was the reason why he sent two indunas to London in charge of Maund and Colenbrander. In London they saw Lord Knutsford, the Colonial Secretary, and Queen Victoria, who gave them a picture of herself to take back to Lobengula. They were shown the gold in the vaults of the Bank of England and a field day at Aldershot. They

were entertained to breakfast by the Aborigines Protection Society and they returned to Lobengula in 1889 full of wonderful stories—which the Matabele refused to believe, saying they had been bewitched !

Dr. Jameson's First Visit. Rhodes, all this time, was straining every nerve to persuade the British Government to grant him the Charter. He was not quite happy about the state of affairs in Bulawayo, so in April, 1889, he asked Dr. Jameson to go there. Dr. Jameson, it will be remembered, was a doctor practising in Kimberley and a friend of Rhodes who had fired him with enthusiasm for the opening up of the north. Jameson was at the parting of the ways. Medicine or the adventurous politics of south central Africa? He chose the politics and set his foot on the road to fame. In a letter to his brother written after his return he added a postscript, "Matabeleland was a little rough; but I am glad I went though I don't think financially I shall be any the better"²¹ Jameson charmed Lobengula with his easy gaiety, treated the king for gout and sore eyes and made a trip into Mashonaland. When he left he took Maguire with him; Maguire was needed to help Rhodes to cope with the many claims of people who had or said they had concessions from Lobengula which they wanted Rhodes to buy.

It may be said that it was Rhodes's intention to employ or buy out or join up with as many as possible of the people or companies who had already obtained rights or concessions in south central Africa. He was largely successful in this, though he drew the line at the man who put in a claim because he said he was thinking of looking up a train to go to London to enquire about boat sailings to South Africa with a view to going there and obtaining a concession from Lobengula ! At any rate, many of Rhodes's former rivals in the business such as Cawston, Maund, Colenbrander and Wilson came on his side in 1889, thus further confounding the attempts of Lobengula to play off one party against another.

The Concession in Danger. After the return of the indunas from London in August 1889, there was another outburst of suspicion and uneasiness in Bulawayo, culminating in the murder of the induna Lotje with all his family. Lotje had advised Lobengula to submit and put himself under the protection of the British. Thompson, who had been visiting Hope Fountain mission, heard the news of the murder on his way back to Bulawayo. He concluded that all was lost and that the lives of all the white men were in imminent danger.

So, cutting the fastest horse out of his Cape cart, he rode it barebacked to Fairbairn's store, borrowed a saddle there and rode the horse to a standstill in the direction of Tati. He covered the last 18 miles on foot. This flight was about the worst thing he could have done, as it made Lobengula even more suspicious. In defence of Thompson it should be said that his nerves were in a bad state as a result of his interminable waiting and that he thought that, as the Charter was virtually settled, there was no obligation on him to stay and be killed as, not so very many years before, he had seen his father killed in Bechuanaland.

Rhodes, realising the danger that Lobengula might cancel the concession, sent Jameson up again (October 1889) and this time Jameson was in Bulawayo for about three months. It was a critical time as it was quite on the cards that Lobengula would cancel the Rudd Concession. Jameson had the actual paper with him and gave it to Moffat for safe keeping. Apart from his general intention to calm the king Jameson hoped to obtain his consent to prospectors starting work and for a large party to go into Mashonaland. He succeeded in both objects. He was both helped and hindered by rumours of Portuguese activity in the north; on the one hand this news gave Jameson the chance of promising Lobengula protection against the Portuguese; on the other hand it further irritated the Matabele against white men. It was also reported about this time that Selous was helping the Portuguese; actually, he was busy undermining their authority in north-east Mashonaland.

The Royal Horse Guards. At the end of January, 1890, a party arrived bearing a letter to Lobengula from Lord Knutsford. The official mission was composed of two officers, a warrant officer and a trooper of the Royal Horse Guards. They brought their full-dress uniforms and their shining breastplates, magnificent plumes and the sword exercises which they demonstrated were a source of great delight and interest to the Matabele. Lobengula wanted to know whether it was because they were afraid that they had to wear steel breastplates. Other Matabele comments were that their tight white trousers would split when they fell off their horses and that their swords were too short and would be no defence against an assegai.

The letter which they brought from Lord Knutsford contained official information about the Charter, gave the support of the British Government to Rhodes's group and

advised Lobengula of what was proposed.

Jameson's Third Visit. When Jameson had obtained Lobengula's consent to the trek to Mashonaland he went back to Kimberley, but in April (1890) he had to make yet another journey. Selous was preparing to make the road and was expecting a hundred Matabele labourers. When these did arrive he went to Bulawayo; Lobengula said that he had not given Jameson his permission and asked Selous to fetch Rhodes. Rhodes would have gone but realised that he would be more useful at the base. So Jameson made his third trip and talked the king round once more. Even then Lobengula would not let the matter rest. After the expedition had started he sent Colenbrander and Chadwick with twenty warriors to order it to turn back. This time Jameson sent a message to Lobengula that he was acting under orders and could not turn back. In actual fact, it is doubtful if Lobengula expected them to, but he had to do something to satisfy the restless warriors who were howling for permission to fall upon the expedition and destroy it.

Supplement

THE PIONEER EXPEDITION: 1890

It has been well said of the Pioneer expedition: 'The march of this adventurous band is one of the most fantastically daring enterprises recorded in the acquisition of the Empire. Its success was due to the skill and courage of its leaders, the courage and fitness of their followers.'²²

Colonel Sir Frederick Carrington of the Bechuanaland Border Police told Rhodes that the occupation of Mashonaland would need 2,500 men and cost a million pounds. The Chartered Company (as the British South Africa Company was commonly called) could not possibly afford this. Frank Johnson, a young man with some experience of African travel and an acquaintance with Mashonaland, told Rhodes that he could occupy the country with 250 men for about £90,000. The British authorities, however, would not allow such a small expedition to go. In the end the arrangement was as follows:

Two separate bodies of men were recruited, the British South Africa Company's Police, a purely military force intended to guard the expedition and keep order in Mashonaland, and the Pioneer Corps which was to make the road, transport supplies and, on arrival, become the first settlers in the new country. The officer commanding the Police, Colonel E. G. Pennefather, was in command of the whole expedition,

with Sir John Willoughby, an English officer, his second in command. The whole force is generally known nowadays as the Pioneer *Column*, not to be confused with the Pioneer *Corps* which was a part of the Column. The Police and the Pioneer Corps were raised and equipped separately and wore different uniforms; the Police wore blue tunics and blue puttees, while the Pioneer Corps wore brown tunics and leather leggings. Both wore broad-brimmed hats, turned up on the left side and having puggarees.

The raising and equipping of the Pioneer Corps was done on contract by the partners, Frank Johnson, Maurice Heany and Henry Borrow; there were about 2,000 applicants from whom 179 were chosen; during the march they were to be organised as a military body with Johnson in command; they received pay and were issued with arms and equipment, like the Police; on arrival in Mashonaland, the Corps was to be disbanded and each man was promised 3,000 acres and 15 gold claims. These men were very carefully chosen; they came from all parts of South Africa and from Great Britain, Australia, Canada and America. They represented many trades and professions but most of them were prospectors. They were young but not too young: few were under 25.

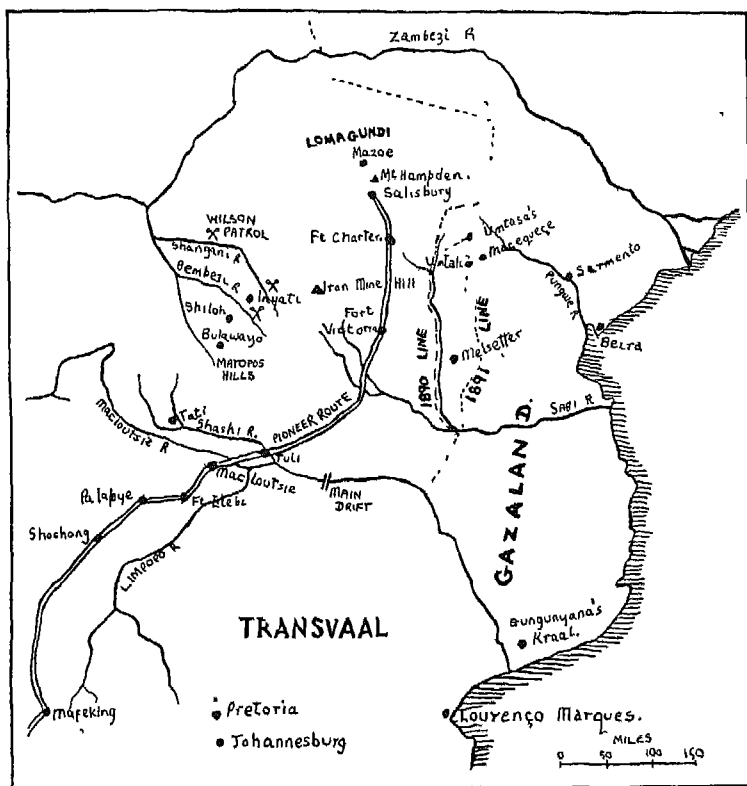
Several civilians accompanied the expedition, notably Dr. Jameson who went as special representative of Rhodes and Mr. A. R. Colquhoun (pronounced *Ca-hoon*) who had been appointed Administrator of Mashonaland. Colquhoun had been in the Indian Civil Service and had once made a remarkable journey in Central Asia. Selous was engaged to find a way through the comparatively unknown lowveld and to cut the road ahead of the column, for which purpose labourers were supplied by Khama, Chief of the Mangwato.

In addition to the personal weapons carried by each man, the force was armed with a few small guns and some machine guns. The Navy at Simonstown lent a searchlight which at night was mounted on a waggon; it was supplied by a steam-driven dynamo.

During the early part of 1890 the two forces were collected on the Macloutsie River, where military training was carried out and final preparations made. At the end of June, Major-General the Hon. Paul Methuen, Adjutant-General of the forces in South Africa, inspected the whole expedition and pronounced it efficient. On June 26th a start was made and on July 1st they reached the Shashi River. Here there was some delay while a fort was built, which was called Tuli.

Some of the Police were left at Macloutsie to follow as a rearguard and more stayed at Fort Tuli. At last on July 11th the Pioneer Corps and 200 Police, together with native servants and labourers, crossed the Shashi River and were really off. The actual work of cutting the road was done by an advance party of Pioneer Corps men and Mangwato labourers under the command of Selous. A few days after the start, two parallel roads were made so that lager could be formed quickly if it proved to be necessary. Actually, the Matabele did not come, except for those bearing messages from Lobengula. Traces of scouting parties were seen but no attempt was made to stop the column. Precautions were taken, however; flank guards were put out by day and outposts by night; each evening lager was formed by drawing the waggons into a ring, each overlapping the next, and the guns were placed ready for use; the searchlight, too, swept the surrounding bush. On the first part of the march the country was bushveld and several fairly large rivers had to be crossed. As the column approached the plateau the country became broken and rocky and precautions against surprise had to be even more thorough. Selous found a way up an easy valley on to the plateau and on August 13th the expedition came out into the open country. Here a second fort was built and called Victoria; it was near the present town of Fort Victoria. This marked the end of an anxious and risky stage of the journey; they were now well away from the Matabele. From Victoria they continued, passing Mashona kraals perched on rocky kopjes; the Mashona were shy and nervous and could with difficulty be persuaded to bring food for sale. One more fort was built, Fort Charter, near the source of the Sabi River in what is now called the Charter district. From there Jameson, Selous and Colquhoun, with an escort of Police, struck off eastwards to visit Umtasa, the chief of Manicaland. The expedition continued towards Mount Hampden, the spot which they were making for. Before they reached the Hunyani River Colonel Pennefather and some others rode ahead. They came to a kopje a few miles from the Makabusi spruit and, considering the neighbourhood to be more suitable for a town than the Gwebi Flats near Mount Hampden, they decided that the expedition should stop there. On September 11th the column reached the Makabusi spruit and camped there for the night. The next day the long column wound round the base of the kopje which Pennefather had noted. A little to the east of this kopje was a swamp (where the Salisbury

Post Office and Town House now stand) and it was decided to halt the column on the far side of this. Accordingly they went round the north end of the swamp (about where Rhodes Avenue is) and their long journey ended at a spot near the present Cecil Square. That night orders were issued for a parade the next morning and a party was instructed to find and erect a flagpole. On the morning of September 13th, 1890, before the assembled Pioneers and Police, the Union Jack was hoisted by Lieutenant Tyndale-Biscoe. It was announced that Mashonaland was occupied and the place was named Fort Salisbury after the Prime Minister of Great Britain.



Southern Rhodesia: Events of 1890-96

Supplement

LOBENGULA'S NEIGHBOURS

Khama. Khama, Chief of the Mangwato from 1872 to

1923, was perhaps the greatest of the great Bantu chiefs of southern Africa. He was the son of Sekhomi, who had known Livingstone but had never become a Christian. The young Khama and his brother Khamane had heard of Christianity from Moffat and Livingstone and were baptised by a German missionary. To be a Christian was a difficult thing for a member of a pagan tribe; it was doubly difficult for a chief's son. Khama early distinguished himself as a hunter and fighter of the Matabele, dangerous enemies of the Mangwato. He was popular with most of the people. Even so, Sekhomi his father made several attempts to kill him, fearing his popularity and hating the contempt which Khama showed for the old sorcery. Khama triumphed, however, and in 1872 he became chief. As a Bantu chief his power was absolute; he used it on the side of civilisation. He forbade witchcraft and 'rain-making' and put down many unpleasant customs. He would allow no strong drink, neither Kaffir beer for his own people nor brandy for Europeans. He had seen the terrible effects of 'Cape smoke' and throughout his long reign he was absolutely determined that no liquor should be drunk in his dominions. Missionaries, especially the Rev. John Mackenzie and the Rev. James Hepburn, were his friends and Christianity became the religion of his people. Twice during his reign was the capital moved—from Shoshong to Palapye and from Palapye to Serowe. In both Palapye and Serowe large churches were prominent buildings. When the British came in 1885, he accepted the Bechuanaland Protectorate with a good grace; in this he showed political good sense; his country lay athwart the road to the north and by throwing in his lot with the British he was assured of protection against the Transvaal and the Matabele. He clung fast to this protection and later successfully resisted the attempt of the Chartered Company to bring him under its sway. With his strength of will and unbending purpose went a certain obstinacy and a vigorous resentment of anything that seemed like interference with his government. His enemies accused him of craftiness, but what successful statesman is there who has not been accused of guile? The measure of his success can be judged from the witness of hard-bitten traders, hunters and politicians who rarely failed to comment on the contrast between the comparatively respectable, kindly-disposed, clothed Mangwato and the naked insolence of the savage Matabele, only a little way further on.

Lewanika of the Rotse. In 1865 the Rotse recaptured their

country on the upper Zambesi and utterly destroyed the Kololo. For some years there was chaos and bloodshed until, about 1870, Lewanika emerged as paramount chief. His rule was harsh but efficient; his object was to make a nation of the tribes in a large area centred upon the upper Zambesi. He was helped and encouraged in this by a devoted French missionary, Francois Coillard, and he was successful in restoring some of the former remarkably high level of development which the Rotse had reached before they were attacked by the Kololo. In 1887 Lewanika was anxious lest his work should be undone by an attack on his dominions threatened by the Matabele. He therefore wrote to Khama to enquire about the protection which Khama had accepted from the British. Some time later Coillard wrote to Sir Sidney Shippard telling him that Lewanika was thinking of asking for British protection.

It will be remembered that Rhodes had insisted that the Charter should not be too definite in describing what parts of Africa should be under its sway. He wanted to spread its tentacles over all of south central Africa which had not yet been seized by another European power. Accordingly, in 1889, Rhodes bought a mining concession which Lewanika had granted to a Mr. Ware. Rhodes sent Frank Lochner who bargained with Lewanika and obtained all mining and trading rights in his dominions for the Chartered Company for £2,000 a year. Lewanika promised to put down slavery and witchcraft and he agreed to the country becoming a British Protectorate.

The rest of the story is too long to recount here; suffice it to say that Lewanika settled down to rule his country with dignity and wisdom, under British protection. Like Khama, he lived to a good old age. In 1902 he visited England and was a guest at the coronation of King Edward VII.

Supplement

NORTHERN RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

The story of Lewanika shows how Rhodes, at the same time as he was preparing to seize Mashonaland, sent out men to remote parts of central Africa to make arrangements with the chiefs. Some of these were H. H. Johnston, Alfred Sharpe, Joseph Thomson, Aurel Schultz and John Moir. The stories of their tremendous journeys, their fights with Arab slave-traders and their patient, though not always successful, negotiations with chiefs would fill a book. They were Rhodes's

tentacles and they were the men who secured the territories of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland for the British.

SOURCE READINGS

1. Extract from an account of the march of the Pioneer Column in 1890

"A" and "B" Troop of the Pioneers cut the way right through from Tuli to Salisbury alternately day by day. This is "A" Troop's day—if you have never swung an axe then you have lost the rhythm and music of its bite. They troop behind Selous in half-sections. Right numbers dismount, strip off all accoutrements, rifle, hand-axe, bandoleer and tunic, attach them to their horses, rifle in gun bucket and held by wallet strap in front to steady it. Tunic, bandoleer, haversack and water-bottle strapped to the front of the saddle by wallet-straps. *Hand over your horse to your left number and line up.* In shirt-sleeves and riding-breeches, booted and spurred, revolver at your waist, you stood, brawny and brown, to receive a large axe distributed to you and you move off to Selous, waiting for you. His dexter finger is thrown out. You know your work. Meanwhile the left numbers leading the mounts follow on. In case of attack you have your revolver and axe which we were swinging with dexterity. What a fight has been lost here! Browned pioneer and axe versus swarthy Matabele and assegai. The Norseman and his axe carved his way far. This is a bloodthirsty reflection, and as the stabbing assegai was used by the Zulu races with the deadly effect of the short bronze Roman sword, we can regard it as luck that there is no record of it.

From 'The Pioneers of Mashonaland' by Adrian Darter.

Questions

1. What does this extract tell you of the work of the Pioneer Corps on the march?
 2. What is meant by 'right numbers' and 'left numbers'?
 3. What was the special work of Selous on the march of the Pioneer Column?
2. Extract from a Memorandum prepared by Lieutenant-Colonel E. C. Pennefather

Fort Salisbury,
Mashonaland.
Oct. 11th, 1890.

On the 10th [September] I, accompanied by Sir J. Willoughby and Captain Burnett of the Pioneers, went on ahead of the main body to choose a suitable site for a fort in the vicinity of Mount Hampden. Early on the 11th we crossed the Makobisi river and, getting a guide from a native village, rode on to the head of the

Gwibi river, which we reached about 10 a.m. We then rode down the Gwibi valley for about five miles towards Mount Hampden, then turned north-east and rode along the eastern edge of the plateau where the streams running into the Mazoe and Inyaguwe rise.

Finding the water supply in the Gwibi valley and at the edge of the plateau was not sufficient for what might eventually be the seat of government, with a considerable population, I returned to the valley of the Makobisi and selected the site where the camp now is; there is a large supply of good water in the Makobisi with facilities for the construction of waterworks on a large scale about two miles above the fort. In order to ensure the purity of the water supply I have allowed no squatting or cattle posts on the Makobisi or the branches of it which flow in above the camp. Captain Burnett returned to the column at daybreak on the 12th to guide it to the spot selected.

On the 13th a general parade was held to hoist the flag with due honour.

Questions

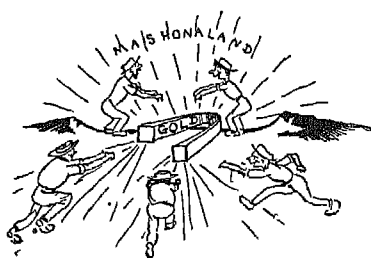
1. Who was Sir J. Willoughby?
2. What was Colonel Pennefather's principal consideration in choosing a site for Fort Salisbury?

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1883—The Germans occupied South West Africa.
1885—Edwards, Maund and Haynes visited Lobengula.
1886—Portugal claimed the territory stretching across the continent between Portuguese East and West Africa.
1887—The Grobler Treaty.
1888—The Moffat Treaty.
The Rudd Concession granted.
1889—The Charter granted.
1890—The Pioneer Expedition to Mashonaland.

THE OCCUPATION OF MASHONALAND

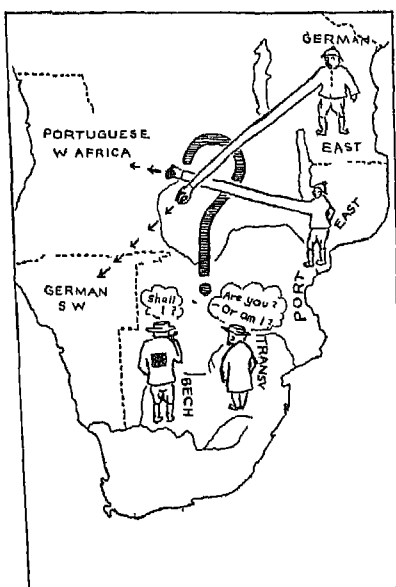
CAUSES



Gold



Imperialism



The scramble for Africa

THE OCCUPATION OF MASHONALAND

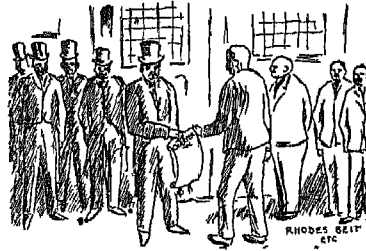
STEPS



The Moffat Treaty



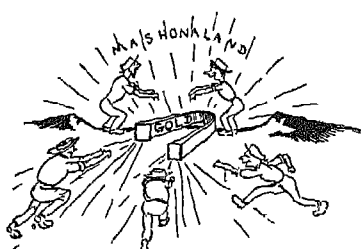
The Rudd Concession



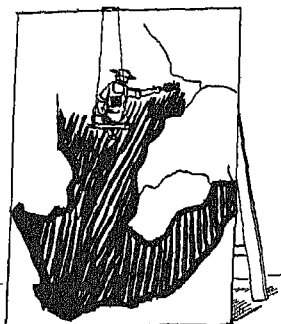
The Charter

THE OCCUPATION OF MASHONALAND

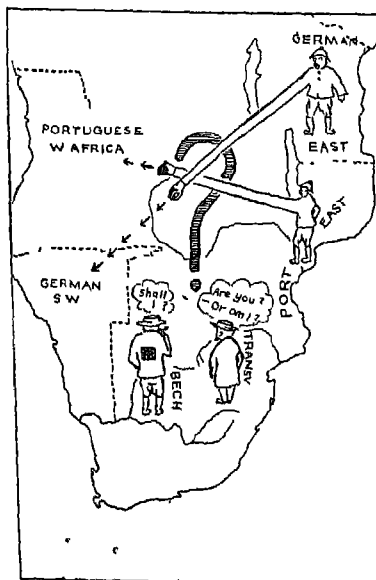
CAUSES



Gold



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THE OCCUPATION OF MASHONALAND

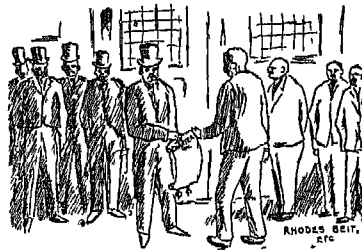
STEPS



The Moffat Treaty



The Rudd Concession



The Charter

THE OCCUPATION OF MASHONALAND

ACCOMPLISHMENT



The Pioneer Column in Lager

TIME CHARTS

Insert in the Time Chart which you began for Chapter V important events mentioned in this Chapter.

Continue the Time Chart for Rhodesia started for Chapter VII.

EXERCISES

- A.
1. **Problem** (to be attempted before the chapter is read): If you were the king of the Matabele and you realised the danger of Europeans occupying your country, what courses would be open to you? Argue out the advantages and disadvantages of each.
 2. Write an account of the motives which impelled British people towards the occupation of the Matabele country.
 3. Describe the events in Bechuanaland from 1882 to 1885.
 4. Explain exactly what steps Rhodes himself took towards the opening up of the North.
 5. Write a paragraph on the Charter.
 6. Discuss the question whether the occupation of Mashonaland by some European power was inevitable or not.
 7. Write a paragraph about Lobengula, with special reference to his political ability.
- B.
8. Draw a plan of the Matabele town of Bulawayo.
 9. Write a description of Matabele Bulawayo.
 10. Describe the appearance and character of Lobengula.

11. Make a sketch of Lobengula from your imagination and the description given.
12. You are a hunter, stopping at Bulawayo for a few days in 1887. Write your diary for those few days.
13. Write a short account of the career and character of the Rev. J. S. Moffat.
14. Tell the story of Maguire's wash.
15. You are one of the concession-seekers in Bulawayo in 1888. Write a letter to your mother describing your experiences.
16. What rumours about Sir Sidney Shippard were circulated in Bulawayo in 1888?
17. Tell the story of the actual signing of the Rudd Concession as it might have been written up for a popular magazine.
18. You are one of the indunas sent by Lobengula to London in 1889. Describe your astonishing experiences after leaving Cape Town.
19. Describe the visit to Bulawayo of the Royal Horse Guards party.
20. Draw a picture of a Pioneer.
21. Describe the arms and equipment carried by the Pioneer Column.
22. You are a Pioneer. Write some extracts from your diary referring especially to the dates mentioned in the chapter.
23. Write an account of the movements of the Pioneer Column from September 11th to 13th, 1890, and describe the scene at the hoisting of the flag.
24. Draw or paint a picture of the Pioneer Column coming round the Kopje. If you live in Salisbury, go to the Kopje and do it there.
25. Write an account of Khama.
26. Write an account of Lewanika.

TEST QUESTIONS

- A.
1. Give the meanings of the following words and phrases: spasmodic, raw material, free trade, the Imperial factor, Protectorate, Crown Colony, sphere of influence, moral support, amalgamation, assurance, inevitable, imperialist.
 2. What roused fresh interest in the Mashonaland goldfield in 1885?
 3. What is meant by 'the scramble for Africa'?
 4. What were Stellaland and Goshen?
 5. What nations seemed likely to close the interior of Africa to the British in the eighteen eighties?
 6. What was the method of opening up the Matabele country which Rhodes finally decided upon?
 7. Who were sent by Rhodes to negotiate for a Concession from Lobengula?

8. Give shortly the terms of the Concession which they obtained.
9. Who was Lord Knutsford? What was the burden of the letters exchanged by him and Lobengula in 1888-9?
10. What part did Jameson play in the negotiations with Lobengula?
11. What was probably Rhodes's chief motive, *as a South African statesman*, in the occupation of Mashonaland?
- B. 12. Give the meanings of the following words: sporran, obesity, carriage (of a person), impervious, enterprise, financier, aggressive, fastidious, *indaba*, retaliation, field day, imminent, contractor, Administrator.
13. What was in the centre of the Matabele town of Bulawayo?
14. How did the Matabele king 'hold court'?
15. What were the occupations of Europeans who lived in or often visited Bulawayo between about 1870 and 1887?
16. What usually happened when travellers arrived at the border of Matabeleland?
17. Give the names of some of the people who were seeking concessions from Lobengula in 1888.
18. Who was Sir Sidney Shippard? Who accompanied him to Bulawayo?
19. Why did Lobengula like Jameson?
20. Who brought an official letter to Lobengula from England in January 1890?
21. What was each Pioneer promised when the Corps was disbanded?
22. Who commanded (a) the Pioneer Corps, (b) the Police, (c) the whole expedition?
23. Who was the first Administrator of Mashonaland?
24. What were the names of (a) the base fort on the Shashi River, (b) the first fort built in Mashonaland, (c) the second fort built in Mashonaland?
25. Who chose the position of Salisbury?
26. What was the date on which the flag was hoisted at Salisbury?

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- Cambridge History of the British Empire, Volume VIII, Chapter XX.
 E. A. Walker—A History of South Africa, Chapter XII.
 Marshall Hole—The Making of Rhodesia.
 Ian Colvin—The Life of Jameson, Volume I.
 J. G. McDonald—Rhodes, a Life.
 Sir L. Michell—Life of the Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes.
 S. G. Millin—Rhodes.
 R. U. Moffat—J. S. Moffat.
 W. Plomer—Cecil Rhodes.
 Basil Williams—Cecil Rhodes.
 Darter—The Pioneers of Mashonaland.
 Gale—One Man's Vision.
 Posselt—Upengula the Scatterer.
 Central African Archives—Gold and the Gospel in Mashonaland—1888
 (Oppenheimer Series, No. 4).

APPENDIX

THE MOFFAT TREATY

The Chief Lo Bengula, ruler of the tribe known as the Amandebele, together with the Mashuna and Makalaka tributaries of the same, hereby agrees to the following articles and conditions:

That peace and amity shall continue for ever between Her Britannic Majesty, her subjects, and the Amandebele people; and the contracting Chief Lo Bengula engages to use his utmost endeavours to prevent any rupture of the same, to cause the strict observance of his treaty, and so to carry out the spirit of the treaty of friendship which was entered into between his late father, the Chief Umsiligaas, with the then Governor of the Cape of Good Hope in the year of our Lord 1836.

It is hereby further agreed by Lo Bengula, chief in and over the Amandebele country with its dependencies as aforesaid, on behalf of himself and people, that he will refrain from entering into any correspondence or treaty with any foreign State or Power to sell, alienate, or cede, or permit or countenance any sale, alienation or cession of the whole or any part of the said Amandebele country under his chieftainship, or upon any other subject, without the previous knowledge and sanction of Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa.

In faith of which I, Lo Bengula, on my part have hereunto set my hand at Gubulawayo, Amandebeleland, this 11th day of February, and of Her Majesty's reign the 51st.

LO BENGULA, X (his mark)

Witnesses: W. GRAHAM

G. B. VAN WYK

Before me, J. S. MOFFAT

Assistant Commissioner.

THE RUDD CONCESSION

Know all men by these presents that whereas Charles Dunnell Rudd of Kimberley, Rochfort Maguire of London, and Francis Robert Thompson, of Kimberley, hereinafter called the grantees, have covenanted and agreed, and do here covenant and agree, to pay me, my heirs and successors, the sum of one hundred pounds sterling British currency, on the first day of every lunar month, and further to deliver at my Royal Kraal, one thousand Martini-Henry breech-loading rifles, together with one hundred thousand rounds of suitable ball cartridge; five hundred of the said rifles, and fifty thousand of the said cartridges to be ordered from England forthwith, and delivered with reasonable despatch, and the remainder of the said rifles and cartridges to be delivered as soon as the said grantees shall have commenced to work mining machinery within

my territory, and further, to deliver on the Zambesi river a steamboat with guns suitable for defensive purposes on the said river, or in lieu of the said steamboat, should I so elect, to pay to me the sum of five hundred pounds sterling British currency, on the execution of these presents, I Lo Bengula, King of Matabeleland, Mashonaland, and other adjoining territories, in the exercise of my sovereign powers, and in the presence and with the consent of my Council of Indunas, do hereby grant and assign unto the grantees, their heirs, representatives and assigns, jointly and severally, the complete and exclusive charge over all the metals and minerals situated and contained in my kingdoms, principalities and dominions, together with full power to do all things that they may deem necessary to win and procure the same, to hold and collect and enjoy the profits and revenues, if any, derivable from the said metal and minerals, subject to the aforesaid payments, and whereas I have been much molested of late by divers persons seeking and desiring to obtain grants and concessions of land and mining rights in my territories, I do hereby authorise the said grantees, their heirs, representatives, and assigns, to take all necessary and lawful steps to exclude from my kingdoms, principalities and dominions all persons seeking land, metals, minerals, or mining rights therein, and I do hereby undertake to render them such needful assistance as they may from time to time require for the exclusion of such persons, and to grant no concessions of land or mining rights from and after this date without their consent and concurrence, provided that if at any time the said monthly payment of one hundred pounds shall be in arrear for a period of three months, then this grant shall cease and determine from the date of the last made payment, and further provided that nothing contained in these presents shall extend to or affect a grant made by me of certain mining rights in a portion of my territory south of the Ramakoban river, which grant is commonly known as the Tati Concession.

This given under my hand this thirtieth day of October, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, at my Royal Kraal.

LOBENGULA X (his mark)

C. D. RUDD

ROCHFORD MAGUIRE

F. R. THOMPSON

Witnesses :

CHAS. D. HELM

H. D. DREYER

Extracts from the CHARTER OF INCORPORATION OF THE
BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

VICTORIA by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

WHEREAS a Humble Petition has been presented to Us in Our Council by The Most Noble JAMES Duke of Abercorn Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath; The Most Noble ALEXANDER WILLIAM GEORGE Duke of Fife Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, Privy Councillor; The Right Honourable EDRIC FREDERICK Lord GIFFORD, V.C.; CECIL JOHN RHODES, of Kimberley, in the Cape Colony, Member of the Executive Council and of the House of Assembly of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope; ALFRED BEIT, of 29, Holborn Viaduct, London, Merchant; ALBERT HENRY GEORGE GREY, of Howick, Northumberland, Esquire; and GEORGE CAWSTON, of 18, Lennox Gardens, London, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law.

AND WHEREAS the said Petition states amongst other things:

That the Petitioners and others are associated for the purpose of forming a Company or Association, to be incorporated, if to Us should seem fit, for the objects in the said Petition set forth, under the corporate name of the British South Africa Company.

That the existence of a powerful British Company, controlled by those of Our subjects in whom We have confidence, and having its principal field of operations in that region of South Africa lying to the north of Bechuanaland and to the west of Portuguese East Africa, would be advantageous to the commercial and other interests of Our subjects in the United Kingdom and in Our Colonies.

That the Petitioners desire to carry into effect divers concessions and agreements which have been made by certain of the chiefs and tribes inhabiting the said region, and such other concessions agreements grants and treaties as the Petitioners may hereafter obtain within the said region or elsewhere in Africa, with the view of promoting trade commerce civilization and good government (including the regulation of liquor traffic with the natives) in the territories which are or may be comprised or referred to in such concessions agreements grants and treaties as aforesaid.

.

NOW, THEREFORE, We, having taken the said Petition into Our Royal consideration in Our Council, and being satisfied that the intentions of the Petitioners are praiseworthy and deserve encouragement, and that the enterprise in the Petition described may be productive of the benefits set forth therein, by Our Prerogative Royal and of Our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have constituted erected and incorporated, and by this Our Charter for Us and Our Heirs and Royal successors do constitute erect and incorporate into one body politic and corporate by the name of the British South Africa Company the said James Duke of Abercorn, Alexander William George Duke of Fife, Edric Frederick Lord Gifford, Cecil John Rhodes, Alfred

Beit, Albert Henry George Grey and George Cawston, and such other persons and such bodies as from time to time become and are members of the body politic and corporate by these presents constituted, erected and incorporated with perpetual succession and a common seal, with power to break alter or renew the same at discretion, and with the further authorities powers and privileges conferred, and subject to the conditions imposed by this Our Charter: And We do hereby accordingly will, ordain, give, grant, constitute, appoint and declare as follows (that is to say):—

1. The principal field of the operations of The British South Africa Company (in this Our Charter referred to as 'the Company') shall be the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland, and to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese Dominions.

.

In Witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent.

Witness Ourselves at Westminster, the 29th day of October, in the fifty-third year of Our reign,

By warrant under the Queen's Sign Manual.

MUIR MACKENZIE.

THE FIRST THREE YEARS

Survey

SETTLING DOWN IN MASHONALAND

Fort Salisbury. The first thing that had to be done on arrival at Fort Salisbury was to construct a fort. When this was ready the Pioneer Corps was disbanded and its members, civilians once again, set about the occupations of their choice. Many went mining; supplied with waggons, equipment and necessities by the firm of Messrs. Johnson, Heany and Borrow, they started out for Mazoe or the Hartley Hills or wherever they had decided to try their luck. Others set up small businesses near the Kopje; soon there was a street of pole and dagga huts, a street which to this day bears the name of Pioneer Street. A few became officials on Colquhoun's staff. Farms were marked out provisionally but as yet the Chartered Company had no right to any land.

It was the same with the government. Strictly speaking, the right to govern the country had to be given by Lobengula. It was not until May, 1891, that the High Commissioner was given the power by an Order in Council to set up a proper government, although Colquhoun already had a scheme for keeping law and order. The laws of the Cape Colony were applied to Mashonaland.

In August, 1891, Colquhoun resigned and Jameson became Administrator in his place. The government was rough and ready and amateurish. Jameson was very informal but his gay, easy manner helped him over most difficulties.

There was no lack of difficulties and a great deal of discontent. When it was seen that the Column had won through, others followed in its tracks, bringing mining gear but not enough food. Consequently, when the rains broke, there was a severe shortage. The rainy season of 1890-91 was one of the worst ever known. Drifts were impassable for weeks at a time, the road became a morass and no supplies whatever could be brought into Mashonaland during that summer; the inhabitants of Fort Salisbury had a miserable time with no clothes, no boots, no mails, no whisky and not enough food. The state of those caught on the road was ten times as bad and many died of fever and hunger.

Furthermore, the settlers were dissatisfied with the Chartered Company's mining regulations. The Chartered Company reserved for itself a half-interest in all gold claims and this was generally felt to be too much, particularly as it was soon realised that there was no 'new Rand' in Mashonaland. The Chartered Company itself was in none too happy a position; an immense amount of money had been spent and returns were disappointingly small.

As it was clear that economy was needed, Jameson decided to reduce the Police. By Christmas, 1891, the Police numbered only 150, the rest having been released, either to become settlers or to go home.* This was not so foolish as might be thought. The Matabele were far away and the local Mashona did not seem to be any danger. Some, it is true, had practised brigandage; on these occasions, Captain Lendy was usually sent out with a small force and the offending kraals were surrounded and attacked. To make up for the lack of Police a volunteer force, called the Mashona-land Horse, was recruited.

Rhodes paid a visit in 1891, coming up from the East Coast. While he endeared himself to some by his ready help, he was not very pleased with others who murmured loudly against the Chartered Company, one deputation in Salisbury even waiting on him while he was drying after a bath.

By 1892 prospects seemed somewhat brighter. Salisbury, with a population of about 400, was beginning to look like a town. There were better houses and government offices; there was a bank, a church and a newspaper, and the telegraph had arrived. The chief complaint was the high cost of living due to the long haul from South Africa; the remedy for this was thought to be another line of approach from the east.

Supplement

EARLY DAYS IN RHODESIA

Salisbury in 1891 consisted of two groups of thatched pole and dagga huts, one at the base of the Kopje and the other in the neighbourhood of the present Cecil Square. The Kopje section was the business centre, while the government offices, the fort (a rectangular earthwork) and the police camp were in the other part. Where the Town House now stands there was a swamp, almost impassable in the rainy season. The inhabitants were 400 or 500 young men, wearing grey flannel shirts, khaki slacks or corduroy breeches and slouch hats. Hardly anyone ever wore a coat and not until 1892 when a few women appeared did the young men begin to trim their beards and put on collars and ties. Some spent the day in pyjamas, boots and hats. Groundsheets were usually worn in wet weather, though there was one man without a groundsheet who carried about an empty paraffin tin into which he put all his clothes if it came on to rain. Indeed, life was delightfully free and easy; it is related that at sunrise the servants put tubs of water outside the huts and went off

*The British South Africa Police was formed in 1896 and is not to be confused with the British South Africa Company's Police.

to cook breakfast while their masters emerged, stripped, and bathed in the open street.

Business was at first carried on in a happy-go-lucky manner; the first shops were general stores selling anything and everything and the first businessmen were described as 'commission agents' who did auctioneering and any kind of agency work. Saturday auctions on the market square were very popular affairs at which almost anything in the world could be bought or sold. The first lawyer's office was under an old waggon-sail and was the property of a lawyer named Bird. The first baker had his oven in an anthheap and the first butcher used to go out and shoot game for his stock-in-trade. The regimental butcher of the Police used to go out of the camp, have oxen driven past him and shoot one, sometimes putting bullets through the walls of the Chartered Company's offices. When there were some cows to be milked, the milk was delivered in whisky bottles; consequently the cows were referred to as 'five-bottle' or 'three-bottle,' according to the quantity of milk each could provide. There was very little money about at first, so that cheques and I.O.U's. were extensively used; I.O.U's. changed hands very quickly and were even known to find their way into the church collection. Prices of articles in common use were very high indeed owing to the shortage of goods. For example, in 1891, butter was 11s. a pound, boots £4 a pair and beer 6s. 6d. a pint. Paraffin fetched £2 a gallon and sugar 3s. a pound. Even these prices were exceeded in the lager in Bulawayo in 1896, when eggs were 74s. a dozen, potatoes £30 a bag and milk 30s. a bottle—famine prices indeed.

Almost the worst problem faced by the early settlers was that of transport. The railway was creeping up from Kimberley but the distance from railhead to Salisbury was over a thousand miles and the journey took about sixty days. Passengers travelled in spring waggons drawn by mules; a little later a regular mail coach service on the American model was started by the enterprising Christian Zeederberg. The journey was incredibly uncomfortable and tedious. During the first year or so the Chartered Company organised a mail service of 'fast' two-wheeled ox-drawn carts driven by the Police. It is worthy of note that there was no highway robbery in Rhodesia, though a great deal of gold was carried. Rhodes hastened the building of railways as much as possible; the line from Mafeking, built at the speed of a mile a day, reached Bulawayo in 1897 and Salisbury in 1904. The line from Beira, at first

a narrow-gauge railway, reached Salisbury in 1899. Much of the work was carried out by George Pauling, a contractor with wide experience of railway building in southern Africa.

A very early newspaper in Rhodesia was *The Mashonaland Herald and Zambesian Times*, which was written, printed, published and distributed once a week by Mr. W. E. Fairbridge; it was cyclostyled and often had a peculiar appearance as Mr. Fairbridge sometimes ran out of suitable paper and ink.

There was a small hospital in Salisbury run by Dr. Rand. He had many malaria patients during the rainy season; the cause of malaria was not then known and it took a heavy toll of life. Dr. Rand had a famous and horrible remedy known as "Rand's Kicker," which saved many lives. He was assisted by a number of Sisters of the Dominican Order of the Sacred Heart, most beloved of whom was Mother Patrick, whose memory is still revered by the dwindling band of Pioneers.

Of course the great excitement of early days in Mashonaland was gold mining; there were frequent reports of promising strikes and much buying and selling of claims in spite of the half interest which the Chartered Company retained. The professional prospector had a hard and lonely life, in constant danger from malaria, wild beasts and accidents.

After the Matabele War the centre of interest shifted to Matabeleland. Bulawayo grew much faster than Salisbury and was more carefully planned. It is notable for its very wide streets, designed by Jameson so that an ox waggon might turn in them. While Salisbury was a village of mud huts for some time, large brick buildings appeared very quickly in Bulawayo which once earned the nickname of 'City of Palaces.' Salisbury became for many years a remote backwater inhabited by 'a few bored civil servants.' The old Pioneer Road was abandoned and has been swallowed by the bush along most of its length. Fort Victoria declined in prosperity while Tuli and Fort Charter virtually disappeared; in their place the newer townships of Gwelo, Gatooma and Que Que grew up on the watershed, the line of the railway.

Survey

THE EASTERN BORDER

Even before the Pioneer Column reached Salisbury a party was detached from it and made for Umtasa's kraal in Manica, near the present Umtali. There were two reasons for this British interest in the eastern side of Mashonaland. One was the hope that by some means or other it might be possible to extend the

Chartered Company's territory to the sea, notwithstanding the Portuguese. The other was the need for an alternative and shorter route from Mashonaland to civilisation.

The Portuguese woke up in the 1880's to the fact that unless they moved quickly their claim to the land between Portuguese East and Portuguese West Africa would not be upheld. Accordingly, they claimed, in 1886, the whole of the Zambesi basin, Nyasaland and a large stretch of territory reaching across to Angola. South of the Zambesi they claimed the territory formerly ruled by the *monomotapa*. Lord Salisbury, for Great Britain, denied these claims because the land was not effectively occupied. Furthermore, the British would not admit other claims to land which Lobengula considered to be his (i.e., within his raiding area). The position in 1890 was that the land east of the Sabi River was regarded by the Portuguese as theirs and this had been admitted by the British Government in a Convention signed in August 1890 but not agreed to by the Portuguese Government and, therefore, invalid. (See Map on page 161). To add to the complications there was a Gaza* chief, Gungunyana, living just north of the Limpopo who did not admit that he was a subject of the Portuguese. Umtasa, the Manica chief, was said to be subject to Gungunyana. Accordingly, Rhodes sent his own agent, Schulz, to Gungunyana and instructed the Pioneer Column to make contact with Umtasa as soon as possible.

The party which left the Pioneer Column to go to Umtasa's kraal consisted of Colquhoun, Jameson, Selous and seven troopers. Jameson was injured by a fall from his horse and had to be carried back to Salisbury. Umtasa willingly signed a concession, claiming that he was completely free to do so. Selous and a few men went on to Maçaqueçe, where they found a Portuguese official, Baron João de Rezende, who warned them off. Colquhoun then went to Fort Salisbury, making treaties on the way with independent chiefs near the Sabi and Odzi Rivers.

The next move was in November, 1890, when Major Forbes was sent by Colquhoun to Umtasa's kraal with a few police and instructions to be bold. A Portuguese officer, Colonel d'Andrade, was at Maçaqueçe with 200 or 300 men. Both parties glared suspiciously at each other; then the Portuguese occupied Umtasa's kraal. Forbes waited for reinforcements and, when a further 25 police arrived, he boldly entered the kraal and captured d'Andrade, de Rezende and Manuel de Sousa (also known as Gouveia), a prazo-holder. De Rezende was released immediately but d'Andrade and de Sousa were, to their inexpressible fury, sent *via* Salisbury to Cape Town where they were released with apologies. Forbes pressed on eastwards as far as possible, making treaties with chiefs as he went; he was within two days of the sea when he was ordered to return as the British Government had made an arrangement (the 'modus vivendi,' November 1890) with Portugal to do nothing

*The Gaza were the Shangaans.

until a treaty was signed. The district of Manica was supposed to be handed over by the Chartered Company, but a police force under Captain Heyman stayed on the Umtali River, as they claimed that the concession had been signed by Umtasa *before* the arrangement with the Portuguese. Actually, the British Government did not support this claim of the Chartered Company because in the 'modus vivendi' they agreed that the boundary fixed in the August Convention (i.e., the Sabi River) should, for the time being, remain the boundary.

The scene now shifts to the kraal of Gungunyana near the Limpopo River. Gungunyana was beset by concession-hunters and his authority was being undermined by the Portuguese. Among the concession-hunters was Rhodes's man, Schulz, who in October, 1890, obtained the promise of a concession of mineral rights in the lowveld between the Pungwe and Limpopo Rivers. Then the difficulty was to find a means of sending in the guns and ammunition which Gungunyana was to receive; the land route was too long and the river route unsuitable on account of the Portuguese control of the coast. In the event, however, the guns were sent by sea and the Portuguese let them through. Almost at the same time (March, 1891) Jameson arrived with two companions, having made a fantastically difficult overland journey from Manica. Gungunyana then confirmed the concession, notwithstanding Portuguese threats. The Portuguese, however, did more than threaten; the Chartered Company party, including Jameson, were arrested on their way down to the sea and their ship seized. They were released, but their attempt to gain a foothold in Gazaland was a failure. The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891 allocated Gungunyana's territory to the Portuguese, who punished Gungunyana.

Meanwhile the Portuguese were preparing to recover Manica. There was great indignation at Forbes's attack; troops, mobilised in Lisbon, were sent inland, martial law was declared and the port of Beira and the Pungwe River were closed to traffic. Rhodes, determined to provoke the Portuguese into breaking the 'modus vivendi' which said that the Pungwe must be kept open, sent an expedition, with Willoughby in command, to take stores up the Pungwe to Mashonaland. The Portuguese duly fired on the expedition and arrested the ships. Whereupon the British Government intervened and sent warships and a British consul to Beira (April, 1891). The Portuguese gave way on the point in face of superior force though they claimed, with justice, that as the Chartered Company was still in Manica there was no obligation on them to keep the Pungwe open.

Inland, a Portuguese force, based on Maçaquece, made an attack on Heyman's position near Umtali. The attack failed and the Portuguese force not only retired, but abandoned the fort at Maçaquece without further fighting. Heyman, who had instructions from Rhodes, "Take all you can get and ask me afterwards,"

was preparing to make a dash for the sea, but he received orders to stop.

This was in May, 1891, in June, 1891, the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty was signed. This treaty recognised Mashonaland and Nyasaland as British and assigned most of Barotseland and Manica to the Chartered Company.* Maçaque and most of Gazaland went to Portugal. The port of Beira was opened and the railway to Salisbury was agreed to. Thus the Chartered Company's territory was finally fenced off in that direction.

At the same time as these disputes were going on, attempts were being made to open up a route to the sea from Mashonaland. As early as October, 1890, Jameson, with Johnson and Hay, made a journey in a collapsible boat down the Pungwe. They had some extraordinary adventures, but reached the sea safely. Johnson planned to open up a regular route this way and during 1891 there was some travel along it by boat and waggon. Johnson's schemes failed, however, on account of the tsetse fly and other difficulties. In 1892 the railway was begun and built with the greatest difficulty and enormous loss of life; as much as sixty-three per cent of the white men employed on the construction died

Supplement

THE EASTERN BORDER

The Road to the Sea. Very soon after the occupation of Fort Salisbury, Jameson, Johnson and a young man named Hay set out to find a way to the east coast. Johnson had brought a collapsible boat which was put on a waggon with other gear and sent on ahead. Johnson had also arranged for a tug to cruise along the coast to pick them up. In spite of the opposition of the Administrator, the party set off on October 5th, 1890. At the Penhalonga range they overtook the waggon and transferred its contents to the backs of porters. They then proceeded into Portuguese territory, meeting with a cold reception from Baron de Rezende at Maçaque and a friendly reception from Colonel Machado, later Governor of the country, to whom they sold their horses. On reaching the Pungwe River they put the boat together and started downstream. It was very hot work rowing and the river was very difficult as it was divided into many channels and was shallow. On the evening of the first day they arrived at Sarmento; the Intendente was agreeable and lent them a hut into which they put all their gear. Jameson sat down to write his diary by the light of a candle stuck in a bottle;

*Although the British Government had previously admitted that Manica was Portuguese, it now became British in return for territory in other parts.

Johnson inadvertently kicked it over and in a few seconds the hut was a blaze; in a matter of minutes the whole village was on fire and in the morning there was no Sarmento. The inhabitants were naturally annoyed and only a present of £20 in gold, which Johnson fortunately had on him, calmed them down. The party set off in the morning with no hats, hardly any clothes and only a few odds and ends of salvage. Below Sarmento the river was broader and deeper and they rowed on all day and half the night. They landed later and camped in open country under the impression that they were on an island between two branches of the river. Actually, they were on the north bank and in a part of Africa reputed to be infested with the fiercest lions in the continent. The lions prowled round, mosquitoes by the million attacked them and a curious hippo bull came snorting along and nearly jumped into the boat. They spent the rest of that night in the boat. The next day they were nearly swamped by a three-foot high tidal bore; later they ran aground, took the boat to pieces to refloat her and were caught by the tidal bore a second time, with the boat still in sections. That night the boat was swamped once again as the painter was too short and the nose was pulled under when the tide rose. On the last day of the journey they reached the sea and night found them rowing out into the Indian Ocean, bailing frantically in a choppy sea. They had seen the masts of a ship and were making for it when night fell and the ship's masthead lantern, alight for a while, was inexplicably put out. In the darkness, however, by the greatest good fortune they struck the ship and were soon on board. Their good fortune was all the more remarkable because the ship, which was the tug sent for them, had been cruising up and down the coast for 29 days and her captain had just decided to return to Durban the next day.

Jameson's Journey to Gungunyana. Jameson was indefatigable; he returned to Salisbury *via* Kimberley and the overland route and by January, 1891, was preparing to set off from Manica to visit Gungunyana near the Limpopo. His companions were Dennis Doyle, who spoke Zulu well and had been with him when he visited Lobengula, and Dunbar Moodie, a South African who had been prospecting in Manica under licence from the Portuguese. The object of the visit was to prod Gungunyana into granting the Chartered Company the concession which he had promised. Jameson, Doyle and Moodie started off with 20 carriers, two horses and a mule; they travelled first along the highlands now known as the



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THE LAGER IN SALISBURY 1896

This was the old giel which stood on a site a little to the west of the railway station



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

LI LAGER AT BULAWAYO A scene during the 1896 Rebellion



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

LII THE PEACE INDABA

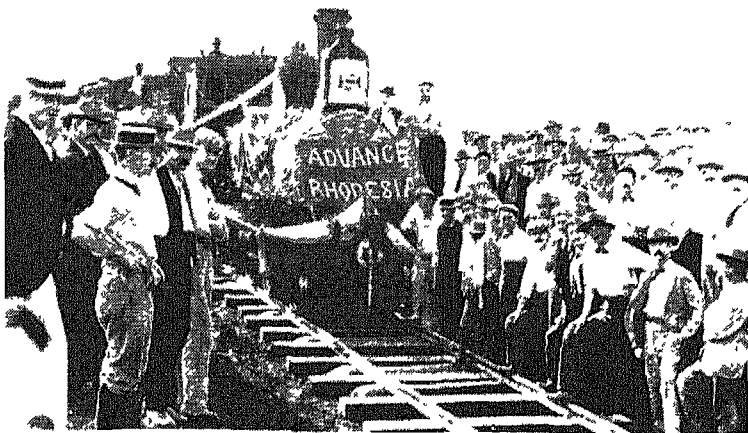
From a sketch of the Indaba with the Matibele in the Matopos Hills, 1896



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

LIII BASE CAMP

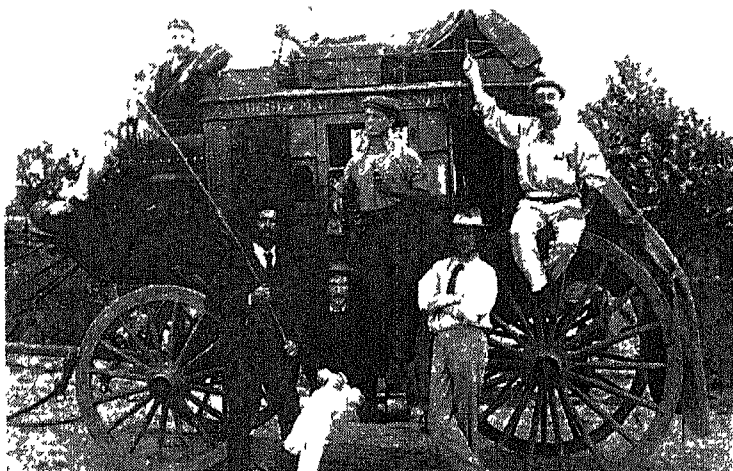
A camp in the Matopos during the Matabele Rebellion, 1896



[Reproduced by permission of Cental African Archives]

LIV THE FIRST TRAIN

The arrival of the first train in Bulawayo, in 1897, is celebrated



[Reproduced by permission of Cental African Archives.]

LV. EARLY TRANSPORT

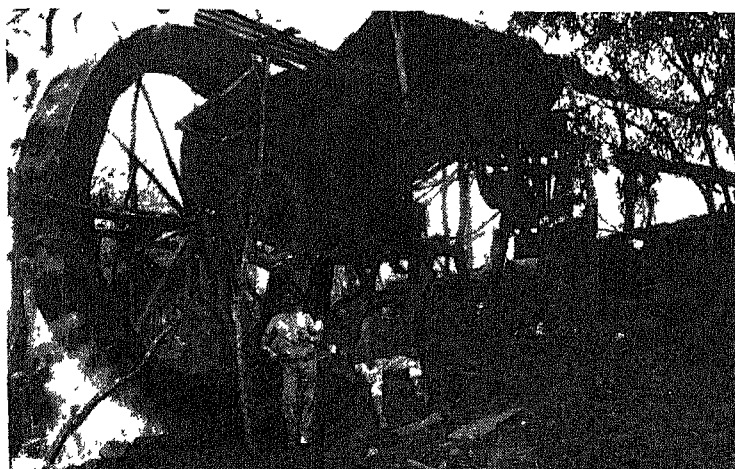
A coach on the Salisbury-Umtali, route 1899 This was the usual form of transport before the railway was built



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

LVI EARLY SCHOOL

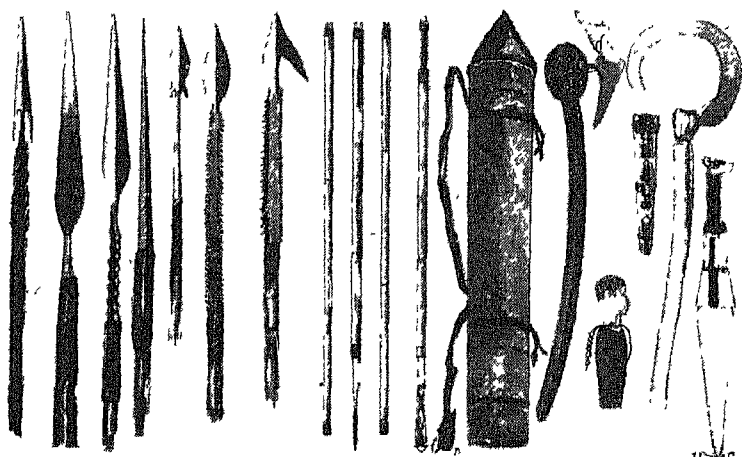
From a sketch (prepared by the Dominican Convent, Salisbury) of the first school which was started in Salisbury, by Mother Patrick



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

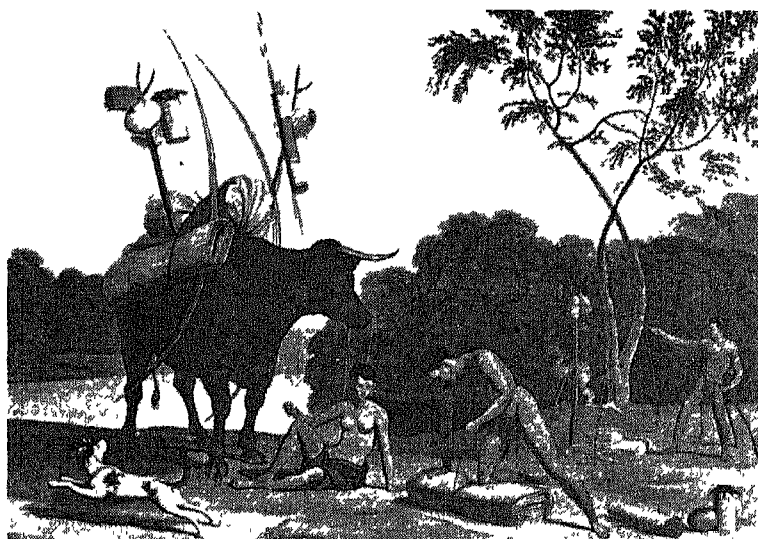
LVII EARLY MINING

A crusher worked by a home-made water wheel, on the Umtali River, 1898 The water wheel was made of whisky cases



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

LVIII BUSHMAN WEAPONS



[Reproduced by permission of the Cape Archives]

LIX. HOTTENTOTS PREPARING TO MOVE

Note the ox used for carrying burdens and the hut which can be taken to pieces.



[Reproduced by permission of the Public Relations Dept of S Rhodesia]

LX BANTU KRAAL SCENE



[Reproduced by permission of the Public Relations Dept of S Rhodesia]

LXI WITCH DOCTOR

eastern districts, crossed the Sabi and from then on almost waded the rest of the way. It rained continuously for eleven days and the country was mostly a dead level swamp. Doyle and Moodie fell ill and it was a very bedraggled party which reached Gungunyana's kraal in March 1891, having travelled over 700 miles in 46 days through terrible country—one of the most remarkable journeys in the history of southern Africa.

Forcing the Pungwe. Johnson was determined to open up a route to Mashonaland from the East Coast and Rhodes backed him. The difficulty of bringing goods into Mashonaland had been brought home in the rainy season of 1890-91 when Salisbury had gone hungry. The cost of bringing goods to Salisbury overland was £72 per ton; Johnson calculated that he could contract for £11 per ton by the East Coast route. Furthermore, Rhodes wanted to extend the Chartered Company's territory to the sea. The Portuguese had agreed to allow traffic on the Pungwe until a definite treaty was signed on condition that the Chartered Company's men retired from Manica. As Heyman's force was still in Manica, the Portuguese felt justified in closing the Pungwe. Rhodes hoped that if they actually fired on British ships the British Government would intervene on behalf of the Chartered Company. Accordingly, he put Sir John Willoughby in charge of an expedition which was carrying goods to Mashonaland; Johnson was responsible for the goods. When someone pointed out that Willoughby was really going for the purpose of being shot at, Rhodes exclaimed, "They will only hit him in the leg, my dear fellow; they will only hit him in the leg."

Three ships, with three lighters in attendance, arrived off Beira in April, 1891 and were picked up by a Portuguese warship, and escorted into the bay. Willoughby offered customs duty on the goods they were carrying but it was refused and they were told that they could not go on up the Pungwe. Two days later they started up the Pungwe and were stopped by Portuguese warships. This was what they had hoped for, so Willoughby called on the Portuguese Governor-General, complained of his treatment and referred the matter back to his government. The whole expedition then returned to Durban; a stiff note was sent to the Portuguese by the British Government, British warships visited Beira and the captain of one of them became British consul in Beira. Rhodes had every reason to be satisfied for the time being. The Portuguese allowed the Pungwe to be used for transport to Mashonaland, but tsetse fly made the land part of the route useless and

Johnson's plans fell through; the railway was the only solution.

The Struggle for Manica. During the eight months (October 1890 to May 1891) in which the Chartered Company and the Portuguese were jostling each other between Mashonaland and the sea there were two occasions on which force was used in Manica. It will be remembered that Colquhoun had obtained a concession from the chief Umtasa. On his return to Salisbury, Colquhoun sent a small advance party immediately to Umtasa's kraal and shortly afterwards a larger party commanded by Captain Forbes. The purpose of these armed police was to keep Umtasa to his word and to resist any possible attempts by the Portuguese to occupy Manica. Forbes arrived with eleven men on November 5th, 1890, and immediately sent a messenger to Maçequê, requesting Colonel d'Andrade to withdraw his garrison. D'Andrade considered that Manica was Portuguese territory and that the Chartered Company were the invaders, so he made no reply. The next day Manuel de Sousa appeared at Umtasa's kraal with 70 native soldiers and hoisted the Portuguese flag. Forbes waited for a few days until he heard that reinforcements were on their way from Salisbury and on November 13th he announced that Manica was in the territories of the Chartered Company; a day later d'Andrade came to Umtasa's and called a meeting of European residents in the district, at which he was going to announce that Manica was Portuguese. On the critical day of the meeting (November 15th) Forbes received his reinforcements (25 men) and decided upon a bold move. While the meeting was actually in progress, one party disarmed the Portuguese native soldiers while Forbes himself, with ten men, walked into Umtasa's kraal. Hearing a commotion, d'Andrade came out of the chief's hut and found himself face to face with Forbes, who promptly made him prisoner, together with de Sousa and Baron de Rezende, who was also there. The Portuguese were naturally enraged, blamed Umtasa for treachery and claimed that they were there on business only. However, Forbes sent d'Andrade and de Sousa to Salisbury, whence they were sent to the Cape and then released. By Forbes's high-handed action the Chartered Company had won the first round in the jostle.

For some months after the affair at Umtasa's kraal a party of the Company's Police under Captain H. M. Heyman remained encamped in the Umtali valley in Manica. The Portuguese claimed that this was contrary to the arrangement

made in November 1890, so they prepared to recover Manica by force. Martial law was declared, troops were raised in Lisbon and in May, 1891, a formidable force, commanded by Colonel Ferreira, re-occupied the fort of Macequece. Heyman thereupon took up a position on Chua Hill with a force of 48 men and one 7-pounder gun. On May 9th Heyman went to Macequece under flag of truce; Ferreira asked him to withdraw beyond the Sabi River. The next day the Portuguese repeated the request and on May 11th they attacked Heyman's position. The battle which followed lasted about two hours and resulted in remarkably little loss of life. The Portuguese were held at 400 yards and then retired to the fort. It happened that the last shell which Heyman had for the 7-pounder fell into the fort; it did not do much damage but the next morning Heyman found the fort empty. His troops were badly off for stores and boots, but he collected a patrol and set off on a dash for the sea. What stopped him was not the Portuguese but Major Sapte, Military Secretary to the High Commissioner, who ordered him to return. When Rhodes heard of this later he said, "You should have clapped him in irons and said he was drunk."

The Moodie Trek. It was necessary that the hilly country on the eastern border, which had been the object of the dispute with the Portuguese, be occupied as quickly as possible to prevent anyone else drifting into it. Dunbar Moodie, the prospector who had accompanied Jameson to Gungunyana's, was promised by Jameson 10,000 morgen of land in that area. Rhodes agreed that Moodie should bring in some farmers from the Orange Free State. He therefore went to Bethlehem, O.F.S., where he consulted his uncle, Tom Moodie, who was enthusiastic about the scheme. The upshot of it was that on May 5th, 1892, a trek party of about 65, excluding children, led by Tom Moodie, left Bethlehem for Mashonaland. Some dropped out at Fort Victoria; the remainder struck out in an easterly direction. For the last 82 miles they had almost literally to cut their way; they crossed the Sabi River and after unimaginable hardships reached their destination in January, 1893. They called the place Melsetter after the Scottish home of the Moodie ancestors. During the next three years several other parties arrived, mostly from the Orange Free State. One, in 1894, was led by Marthinus Martin, an M.P. of the Orange Free State. They settled at Middle Melsetter to the north of the Moodies and Martin's influence was so strong that his area eventually became known as

Melsetter while the original Melsetter became Chipinga. Altogether 79 people came into the eastern districts before the end of 1896.

Survey

THE BANYAILAND TREK AND RELATIONS WITH THE MATABELE

The Banyailand Trek. It was not only on the eastern border that the Chartered Company had to protect what it considered to be the boundaries of its territories. Its southern border, the Limpopo River, was the scene of a threatened incursion of Transvalers. Early in 1890 there had been rumours of a proposed trek into Mashonaland from the Transvaal. This would have upset Rhodes's plans completely and he persuaded the British Government to declare that it would be considered a hostile act. President Kruger, who was doing his best to open up a way for the Transvaal on the east and was not so much interested in northward expansion, stopped the trek. In 1891 several Transvaal citizens, led by Louis Adendorff, obtained a concession from a Nyai chief, Chibi, north of the Limpopo. Acting independently of the Transvaal government, they called for volunteers to form a party to trek to Mashonaland and start a republic there. *The Transvaal government ordered them to give up the idea and both the Chartered Company in Mashonaland and the British government in Bechuanaland took precautions.* After an unsuccessful attempt to sell the concession to Rhodes, a party of about 100 Transvalers assembled on the banks of the Limpopo and began to cross (June, 1891). Jameson had arranged for the north bank to be patrolled and he was supported by the Bechuanaland Border Police under Major Goold-Adams. The trekkers who crossed the river were arrested and Jameson returned with them to their camp on the Transvaal side. There the matter was discussed and Jameson offered to allow them to come into Mashonaland if they would accept the rule of the Chartered Company; a few accepted, but the rest dispersed and gave up the idea.

Relations with the Matabele. It might have been expected that the Matabele would show their resentment in a forcible way at the European occupation of Mashonaland. On the whole, however, during the first two years of the settlement there was little trouble beyond an occasional raid on Mashona tribes; an example of this was the killing by the Matabele of the chief Lomagunda, against which Jameson protested and received an evasive reply.

In 1891 Lobengula had given a concession of land rights to Edouard Lippert, a Johannesburg financier. Lobengula hoped no doubt to set one party of Europeans against another. He did not know that Lippert was a cousin of Alfred Beit; Lippert sold his concession to the Chartered Company.

By the beginning of 1893 it was widely believed in Mashonaland that a struggle with the Matabele was coming. The 'new Rand' had not been found in Mashonaland; men thought that perhaps it ran through Bulawayo. The fertile pastures of the Matabele held out a temptation. Furthermore, the funds of the Chartered Company were running low and further conquests might lead to revived confidence. For their part the Matabele were restive at the loss of their raiding grounds and dissatisfied with their own meekness in face of European invasion. Neither side deliberately planned a war, but the conditions were ripe and it needed but an incident to start one. The necessary incident came early in 1893. A Mashona chief stole some telegraph wire and was fined in cattle; he willingly handed over some of Lobengula's cattle, which he was looking after. Of course Lobengula protested vigorously and the cattle were returned. Then Lobengula decided to punish some Mashona living near Fort Victoria, who were not sufficiently submissive.

Now there was no proper boundary between Lobengula's territories and those of the Chartered Company, because the Chartered Company was officially *in* Lobengula's territory. However, there was a line a few miles west of Fort Victoria which was looked upon as a boundary. In July, 1893, Matabele raiders crossed this line and began burning and killing near Fort Victoria. They offended the white inhabitants by killing some of their servants and driving off some of their cattle, no doubt by mistake. There was naturally considerable alarm at the occurrence and a message was sent to Jameson in Salisbury. Jameson ordered Captain Lendy, in charge of Fort Victoria, to recover the cattle and drive out the Matabele raiders. He also set out for Fort Victoria himself. When he arrived the raiders were still in the neighbourhood; the indunas were invited to an *indaba* on July 18th and at that were told to go as quickly as possible. Some of the Matabele, however, were truculent and refused to go; Lendy went out with a small force and drove them off, killing some.

Jameson had been inclined to make light of the affair when he had first arrived at Fort Victoria. Now he saw that it was more serious. He did not want a war and, in any case, the Company was very ill prepared for one. However, the settlers were clamouring to go in and finish it and Jameson thought that a conflict was inevitable in the long run. He therefore telegraphed to Rhodes for instructions and received the famous reply, "Read Luke: XIV.31." Lobengula was not by any means in a peaceful frame of mind; he had received a report from his indunas of European treachery at Fort Victoria and was in a difficult and warlike mood.

Once the decision had been made, preparations for war went ahead; at the same time Loch, the High Commissioner, and Lord Ripon, the Colonial Secretary, a Liberal anti-Imperialist, hostile to the Chartered Company, were still taking steps to avoid war.

In October the High Commissioner sent a message to Lobengula to send people to Cape Town for discussions. Two important Matabele started, in charge of the trader Dawson; through a piece of stupid negligence on his part they were shot at Tati and hopes of patching up a peace were at an end.

Survey

THE MATABELE WAR

The plan for the attack on the Matabele was as follows. two columns were to advance from Salisbury and Fort Victoria respectively and a third based on Tuli was to create a diversion. The Bechuanaland Border Police, with the help of 1,000 Mangwato, were to remain in a state of readiness in Bechuanaland and in this way to give strategic assistance. There were very few police in the Chartered Company's service, so that it was necessary to raise volunteer forces. By the Victoria Agreement volunteers were promised farms and mining claims and a half-share of the loot. Major Forbes and Major Allan Wilson were put in command of the Salisbury and Fort Victoria columns respectively and Commandant Raaf brought a newly raised force to Tuli, many of his men coming from Johannesburg. Rhodes furnished supplies and remounts and paid £50,000 out of his own pocket; he was anxious that the whole business should be kept out of the hands of the British government, lest it claim too much when the war was over.

In September, 1893, the columns were ready and, after white men straying beyond the 'border' had been fired on, they began their march. The Salisbury and Fort Victoria columns met at Iron Mine Hill near Gwelo on October 16th and continued their march as one. On October 25th they fought a battle on the Shangani River with a Matabele *impi*. The Matabele fought with careless bravery, but stood no chance against field guns and machine-guns. They retreated leaving over 500 dead. The European losses were one killed and six wounded; also about 50 'friendly' Mashona were killed. On October 31st another battle was fought on the Bembesi River with the same result. The Matabele were defeated and when the column reached Bulawayo on November 3rd, the town was in flames and the Matabele were retiring into the bush north-westwards. Meanwhile the Bechuanaland Border Police had joined hands with Raaf's Rangers and the Mangwato and the whole body was advancing from Tati. They had a small fight with about 500 Matabele under the induna Gambo, but it was too late and Gambo was forced to follow his king in retreat.

The capture of Bulawayo virtually brought the war to an end; to secure peace, however, Jameson wished to capture Lobengula himself. A letter was sent calling on him to surrender; Lobengula replied but did not come. On November 14th, therefore, a force commanded by Major Forbes and including Commandant Raaf, set off in pursuit. This force suffered every conceivable

misfortune but was within an ace of capturing the king. An advanced patrol under Major Allan Wilson made close contact with Lobengula's bodyguard, but was cut off, surrounded and wiped out, fighting to the last man (December 4th, 1893).

Although the Matabele War was over there were still many Matabele out under arms. The Chartered Company had tried to make them surrender cattle and arms and actually claimed *all* the cattle on the ground that it was Lobengula's successor. The Colonial Secretary intervened, however, and ordered Jameson not to be too wholehearted about it. As a result, a European force had to be kept in being; 150 Mashonaland Volunteers remained as a civil police force and 400 Bechuanaland Border Police stayed in the country for a time.

The Matabele War had been foreseen by thinking men even before the occupation of Mashonaland. It was inevitable that the presence of an armed barbarous people on the borders of the new settlement would lead to a crisis. The Chartered Company certainly did not deliberately start the war, as its enemies claimed, but it was certainly the gainer by it. In the cold light of history it is clear that the Matabele War was the last act in a drama of conquest. In the wider history of southern Africa the wiping out of the last of the savage military kingdoms marks the end of an era.

Supplement

THE SHANGANI DISASTER

After the capture of Bulawayo in November, 1893, Jameson determined to complete the Matabele War by the capture of Lobengula, if that were possible. He sent John Grootboom, a courageous colonial native, with a letter to the king. Lobengula, weary and puzzled, gave a vague answer but did not come in reply to Jameson's summons to give himself up. As it was thought probable that Lobengula was travelling slowly Jameson sent a large patrol of 320 men under the command of Major Forbes to pursue him. Included in this patrol was Commandant Raaf, who was second in command, with some of his Rangers. The patrol started on November 14th; they made contact with small parties of Matabele and captured a few cattle but the going was difficult on account of heavy rain. They left a garrison of 80 men at Inyati and then continued with ever increasing difficulty; there was little enthusiasm for the task, so little indeed that many men of the force refused to go any further. This caused delay and a return to Shiloh until extra men, food and munitions had been sent up by Jameson. On November 26th the force left Shiloh not far behind Lobengula, but the rain and mud were

so bad that Forbes decided to abandon the waggons and continue the pursuit with a flying column of mounted men; the information which came in was that the Matabele were dispirited but that three regiments were covering the king's retreat. On December 3rd the flying column reached the banks of the Shangani River. Shortly before, Lobengula had sent back a messenger with a bag of money and a pathetic request to be left alone. The messenger was nervous and approached two men at the tail of the column. The two men kept the money themselves and said no more about it. There were many signs that the Matabele were quite near, so Forbes sent out a small patrol of 12 men commanded by Major Allan Wilson; his orders were to cross the river, find out where Lobengula was and return before nightfall. Forbes had it in mind to take 50 men and a Maxim gun and try to capture the king in one rush. When night came Wilson had not returned and Forbes also found that he was being threatened by another Matabele *impi*—probably Lobengula's rearguard. During the night messengers came back from Wilson asking for reinforcements. Forbes was uncertain what to do; Wilson's message was vague and the situation confused. To attempt a night crossing of the river with his whole force in the presence of a Matabele *impi* would be folly. To leave Wilson without reinforcements might be to leave him in a dangerous position. Forbes had to do something so he decided, against Commandant Raaf's advice, to send small reinforcements. His decision was a wrong one; the extra men were not really enough to effect the capture of Lobengula but were enough to make Wilson think the attempt worth while. At midnight Captain Borrow and 20 men rode off to join Wilson over the Shangani River.

The appearance of Wilson with his small patrol had been something of a surprise to the Matabele, for the patrol rode right up to Lobengula's enclosure and called upon him to surrender before they were molested. Under fire from the Matabele they retired a little distance and waited for the reinforcements which had been sent for. Before dawn, on December 4th, Captain Borrow and his 20 men arrived; Wilson was horrified as he expected a larger force, if not the whole column. In the circumstances a bold course of action was the only one; they therefore made another advance towards the king's enclosure, but it was hopeless. The king had gone and they were soon hotly engaged with large numbers of Matabele and their line of retreat to the river was cut. Three

men, the Americans Burnham and Ingram and another, broke through the cordon of Matabele, swam the now flooded Shangani and rejoined the main column. The rest fought it out with the Matabele until late afternoon. When their horses were killed they used them for cover, wounded men went on firing until they died; it is said that the last man alive collected as many rifles and revolvers as he could, took up a position on an anthill and continued firing until he, too, was killed. The savage Matabele respected courage and did not mutilate the bodies, which were found some time later and buried by the trader Dawson. Near the spot he carved on a tree a cross with the inscription TO BRAVE MEN.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the Shangani, Forbes took up a defensive position during the night and in the morning moved along the river preparing to cross it. He was unable to do so; his force was pinned down by the fire of the Matabele rearguard and to cross the flooded river was impossible. When Ingram and Burnham reached Forbes, Burnham said, "I think I may say that we are the sole survivors of that party." Forbes could hear the firing over the river and knew that Wilson was fighting desperately but, the river in flood and the Matabele pressing him, he could do nothing.

On the morning of December 5th, Forbes began a retreat which was made a nightmare by rain, mud, fatigue, starvation and repeated Matabele attacks. Eight days later they reached Inyati where Jameson and Rhodes, who had just come up from the Cape, were waiting with supplies and a relief force. On December 21st they reached Bulawayo where shortly afterwards the indomitable Raaf, worn out by his exertions, died.

It is thought that Lobengula died in January, 1894, but no white man knows exactly where; from time to time, indeed, there has been a story that he succeeded in crossing the Zambesi and taking refuge with the Ngoni.

SOURCE READINGS

1. Extract from the Report of Colonel J. Paiva de Andrada

. On the 22nd we arrived at the Camp which the English had pitched in our territory of Goa, and to which they had given the name of Salisbury.

I had an interview with Mr. Colquhoun, but notwithstanding my protests and my declaration that my life was endangered by performing so long a journey in a jolting waggon, I was compelled to proceed to Cape Town.

Nobody deigned to explain why I was treated in this manner. I saw, however, from the telegrams which had been forwarded to Cape Town, that they endeavoured to excuse their conduct by asserting that I and Manuel Antonio had been made prisoners for insulting the English flag. We had not, however, seen an English flag, nor, as far as we knew, had it been hoisted in any part of Manica land. In order to still further prejudice public opinion against us, Manuel Antonio de Sousa Gouveia was repeatedly referred to as "the notorious slave-dealer."

If these mendacious and calumnious charges were true, it would be easy to prove that we insulted, or even saw the English flag in Manica, or that Manuel Antonio, the "notorious slave-dealer," sold in the course of his life even a single slave!

From 'Report of Colonel J. Paiva de Andrada,
1891—addressed to H. E. the Minister
of the Marine and the Colonies of
Portugal.'

Questions

1. Who was Colonel de Andrada?
2. Where had he been captured?
3. Why did he say that Salisbury was in Goa?
4. Who was Manuel Antonio de Sousa?

2. Telegrams concerning the Matabele War

(a) SIR H. B. LOCH to the MARQUESS OF RIPON

(Received July 19, 1893)

Telegraphic

(Confirmed by Despatch, No. 62)

Lo Bengula sent impi to punish Mashonas in the country close to Fort Charter and Victoria. They have burnt many kraals and killed many natives, including servants of white people. Impi came within Settlement at Victoria. Doctor Jameson interviewed Indunas, who refused to return to the other side of demarcation line agreed to with Lo Bengula. For the sake of safety of Settlement, Jameson ordered Lendy to eject impi, which was about 300 strong. This was effected without loss by some 38 mounted men. Matabele first opened fire, which was replied to. Impi returned, being pursued 9 miles, losing two Indunas and about 30 men. This may, I believe, prevent further trouble. I have sent message to Lo Bengula requesting him to recall impi within line agreed to, and to punish Indunas. We are on friendly terms, and I believe he will comply with request. Apprehend no danger. More than 400 Europeans at Victoria. Merely telegraph in order to allay any apprehension on account of exaggerated reports reaching you.

- (b) From His Excellency the High Commissioner, Cape Town,
to Rev. J. S. Moffat, Palapye.

Telegram.

18th July—Send following message by special messenger to Colenbrander to be delivered from me to Lobengula.

Begins: I have been informed by Dr. Jameson that the Impi sent in the direction of Victoria are burning the kraals and killing men and women, some of whom are servants of the white people. The Impi has passed the boundary agreed upon with Dr. Jameson. I trust that you will at once recall the Impi, as I am sure the Indunas in command must be exceeding your orders. A large Impi of white people have been collected at Victoria to drive back if necessary your Impi. I wish to avoid the employment of force and trust that by your withdrawal of the Impi the necessity for Dr. Jameson taking defensive measures may be avoided.

From Blue Book, No. C 7171.

Note: The High Commissioner was Sir H. B. Loch.

Questions

1. Who was the Marquess of Ripon?
2. Was the High Commissioner's belief that there would be no further trouble justified?
3. Who was Colenbrander?
4. What was the outcome of the events referred to in these telegrams?
5. What reference to telegram (b) is there in telegram (a)?

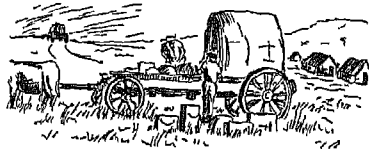
IMPORTANT DATES

1890	September	The Occupation of Mashonaland.
	October	Gungunyana promised the Chartered Company a Concession.
	Oct./Nov.	The journey of Jameson, etc., down the Pungwe River.
	November	The affair at Umtasa's kraal.
	November	The Anglo-Portuguese 'modus vivendi'
1891		The Lippert Concession.
	Jan./March	Jameson's journey to Gungunyana.
	March	Gungunyana confirmed the Concession.
	April	The attempt to force the Pungwe.
	May	The fight at Maçaqueç.
	June	The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty.
	June	The Banyailand Trek.
	August	Jameson became Administrator of Mashonaland.
1892		The Moodie Trek started.
1893		The Matabele War.
1894		The death of Lobengula.

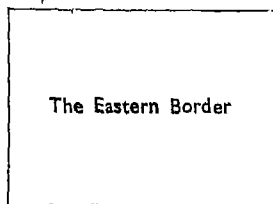
EARLY YEARS



The Pioneers arrive



The Pioneers disperse



The Eastern Border



The Banyailand Trek



The Matabele War, 1893

TIME CHARTS

Continue the Time Chart for Rhodesia which was started for Chapter VII.

Make a special Time Chart for the years 1890 and 1891 with the months in the left-hand column and under the following headings:—

Salisbury

Manica

Gazaland

The Pungwe River

EXERCISES

- A.
1. Write an account of the *government* of Mashonaland in the first year after the Occupation.
 2. Write an imaginative account of a journey from Tuli to Fort Salisbury in January 1891.
 3. Explain carefully the *political* position of the Portuguese in southern Africa before November 1890.
 4. What reasons had the Portuguese for closing the Pungwe River in spite of the agreement of November 1890?
 5. Explain carefully the whole dispute between the Chartered Company and the Portuguese about the eastern frontier of Mashonaland.
 6. Write a short account of the Banyailand Trek.
 7. What were the real reasons, apart from the incidents at Fort Victoria, for the Matabele War?
 8. Describe the incidents which led to the Matabele War.
 9. Look up Luke XIV.31 in a bible and explain exactly what Rhodes meant by his telegram to Jameson.
 10. Write a short account of the Matabele War.
 11. Read a more detailed account of the Matabele War in other books.
- B.
12. Write a descriptive letter headed Fort Salisbury, June 30th, 1891.
 13. Use your imagination and describe a coach journey from railhead to Salisbury in 1891 in the dry season.
 14. Draw a picture of Salisbury in 1891. If possible, sit on the Kopje and do it there.
 15. Draw a picture of a typical Salisbury man in 1891.
 16. If possible, read a copy of *The Mashonaland Herald and Zambesian Times*.
 17. Tell the story of the journey of Jameson and Johnson down the Pungwe River in 1890. Illustrate it.
 18. Tell the story of the attempt to force an entrance into the Pungwe River in April 1891. Illustrate it.
 19. Imagine that you are Colonel d'Andrade. Tell the story of the affair at Umtasa's kraal from his point of view.
 20. Draw a picture illustrating the capture of Colonel d'Andrade and de Sousa.
 21. Write a short account of the battle at Maçeqeque in May, 1891.
 22. Explain why farmers from the Orange Free State occupied the eastern districts of Mashonaland.
 23. Write a detailed account of the attempt to capture Lobengula in 1893.
 24. Imagine you are one of the Matabele guarding Lobengula. Describe the events of December 3rd and 4th, 1893.
 25. Draw a picture illustrating the last stand of the Wilson patrol.

TEST QUESTIONS

- A. 1. Explain the following words and phrases: Order in Council, amateurish, Convention, invalid, 'modus vivendi,' mobilise, martial law, incursion, anti-Imperialist, truculent, create a diversion, remount.
2. What happened to the Pioneer Column when the fort at Salisbury was built?
3. Who were the first and second Administrators of Mashonaland?
4. What was the reason for the misery in Salisbury between November, 1890 and March, 1891?
5. Why were the settlers dissatisfied with the Chartered Company?
6. What were the two reasons for the Chartered Company's interest in the eastern side of Mashonaland?
7. Who were (a) Umtasa, (b) Gungunyana?
8. Why was Forbes ordered to return when he was making for the sea in November, 1890?
9. What happened to Jameson after he had left Gungunyana's kraal in March, 1891?
10. State briefly the terms of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of June, 1891.
11. Why did the attempt to open up a route from Mashonaland to the sea fail until a railway was built?
12. Why was President Kruger opposed to the Banyailand Trek?
13. What was the Lippert Concession?
14. What happened to the Matabele who raided Mashona living near Fort Victoria in 1893?
15. Who commanded the various columns which attacked the Matabele in 1893?
16. What was the Victoria Agreement?
17. Who burnt Bulawayo?
- B. 18. Explain the following words and phrases:—
I.O.U., railhead, tidal bore, lighter.
19. What kind of meat was most common in Salisbury in 1891?
20. What was meant by a 'three-bottle cow'?
21. Who were: Zeederberg, Dr. Rand, Mother Patrick, W. E. Fairbridge?
22. Why were the streets of Bulawayo made so wide?
23. Why did Tuli and Fort Charter virtually disappear?
24. What happened to the village of Sarmento in October, 1890?
25. Who went with Jameson on his journey to Gungunyana's kraal?
26. Why did the Portuguese prevent Willoughby entering the Pungwe River in April, 1891?

27. Why did Forbes stay near Umtasa's kraal with armed police in November, 1890?
28. In May, 1891, in Manica, who commanded (a) the Chartered Company's force, (b) the Portuguese?
29. Who was Tom Moodie?
30. Why did the first Melsetter become Chipinga?
31. Why was Forbes unable to cross the Shangani to go to Wilson's help on December 4th, 1893?
32. About how many men of the Wilson patrol were killed?

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

Cambridge History of the British Empire. Volume VIII, Chapter XX
 E. A. Walker—A History of South Africa; Chapter XII.
 Marshall Hole—The Making of Rhodesia.
 Marshall Hole—Old Rhodesian Days.
 Ian Colvin—The Life of Jameson, Volume I.
 Gale—One Man's Vision.
 Gale—The Hundred Waggon.
 Blennerhassett and Sleeman—Adventures in Mashonaland.
 Burnham—Scouting in Two Continents.
 De Waal—With Rhodes in Mashonaland.
 Knight Bruce—Memories of Mashonaland.
 The biographies of Rhodes listed in Chapter VIII.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: FROM REBELLION TO RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Survey

THE SETTLEMENT OF MATABELELAND.

The death of Lobengula somewhere in the bush early in 1894 made the surrender of the Matabele easier and it was not long before settlers were dispersing over Matabeleland. By the middle of 1895 there were some 2,000 white people in the country and a new Bulawayo, a small but thriving European town, had sprung up close to the site of Lobengula's town. The focus of interest in mining had shifted from Mashonaland and though mining had to wait until machinery could be brought up, many claims were pegged.

Rhodes was anxious that the British government should not deprive the Chartered Company of its hard-won gains. It was not true that the conquest of Matabeleland had cost the British taxpayer nothing, but certainly the Chartered Company had borne the heaviest burden. Furthermore, there were Englishmen in whose nostrils the doings of the Chartered Company stank; notable among these were Labouchère, an M.P. and editor of *Truth*, and members of the Aborigines Protection Society. Labouchère, indeed, made the most scurrilous attacks on the Chartered Company, often supported by the flimsiest evidence. His references to Rhodes as the head of a gang of shady financiers and to the Rhodesian settlers as border riff-raff did his case more harm than good and he brought upon his own head the rebuke of the Liberal Prime Minister, Gladstone, and the scorn and hatred of even the most lukewarm of the Chartered Company's supporters. The question of what form of government should be set up was settled by a compromise in the Matabeleland Order in Council (1894). There was an Administrator for Matabeleland and Mashonaland with a council of officials. He had power to make laws by regulation, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner for South Africa and in accordance with the ordinances of the Directors of the Chartered Company. Thus the whole of the present Southern Rhodesia came under the administration of the Chartered Company, under the ultimate control of the High Commissioner. Jameson was the first Administrator of Matabeleland and Mashonaland and Vintcent was the first Judge. A native police force was recruited, partly from people who had formerly been subject to the Matabele. The Matabele were given two rather poor reserves and an unsatisfactory settlement of the cattle question was made. Plans were pressed forward for a railway from the south. In 1895 the

Chartered Company first used the name Rhodesia; the name had been thought of as early as 1891 and in 1897 it was officially recognised by the British government.

The Jameson Raid. In 1895 a force known as the Rhodesia Horse was raised in Bulawayo. It was not generally known what its purpose was; some thought it was intended for an expedition north of the Zambesi, others that it was to be used against tribes in Bechuanaland. Actually, it was a part of the 'Jameson Plan' to raid the Transvaal. The story of the Jameson Raid has already been told in Chapter V. When the news of it reached Bulawayo there was a good deal of enthusiasm for it and a resolution that help be sent was carried at a public meeting. When Kruger heard, after the raid had started, that the Rhodesia Horse intended to march on his country, he protested and the Colonial Secretary, at that time Joseph Chamberlain, ordered the intended movement to be called off. Furthermore, he demanded that the guns and reserve ammunition belonging to the Chartered Company be put in the keeping of an officer who was sent up for the purpose. As a matter of fact neither the Directors of the Chartered Company (other than Rhodes and Beit) nor the settlers were concerned in the Jameson Raid, but the British government was suspicious of the Chartered Company's actions and sent a Resident Commissioner to be the 'Imperial watch-dog' (1896). The first Resident Commissioner was Sir Richard Martin.

But the principal effect on Rhodesia of the Jameson Raid was caused by the absence of many of the Chartered Company's police who had been captured with the rest of the raiders.

Survey

THE MATABELE REBELLION

The Matabele had not really been subdued in 1893 and the more irreconcilable section of the people, particularly the indunas and witch-doctors and Lobengula's relatives, brooded on their misfortunes. The roots of the trouble, as nearly always in dealings between Europeans and Bantu, were land, cattle and labour. The Matabele, unlike the Mashona, farmed the heavy soils which covered the gold reefs and they had therefore felt European pressure on land at once. The Chartered Company had, as inheritors by conquest of Lobengula's property, claimed *all* the cattle and entrusted it to the indunas for care. Actually, there was some cattle which had not belonged to Lobengula; some of this was also seized as there was no means of telling the difference. The Matabele, an aristocratic warrior people, found themselves subject to forced labour for both public and private purposes and they resented this very much. Still more did they resent the arrogance of the native police, often people who had formerly been their 'dogs.' Drought and locusts had taken their toll and early in 1896 there was an outbreak of rinderpest which led to the forcible slaughtering of

many cattle. The Matabele cup of woe was full and in March, 1896, they rose.

The first phase of the rebellion was the killing of 143 isolated Europeans and the hurried forming of lagers at places such as Bulawayo, Gwelo and Belingwe. Then all local forces were mobilised; there were very few police in the country but the Rhodesia Horse could muster 800 or 900 men with a limited quantity of arms. Patrols scoured the country and brought in or buried the unfortunate people who were beleaguered or had been caught. The Matabele at this stage were about 25 miles from Bulawayo. A relief force of 120 men left Salisbury, accompanied by Rhodes himself. Rhodes wanted to finish off the rebellion without outside help but Duncan, the Chartered Company's representative in Bulawayo, saw that this would be impossible and Rhodes had to consent to the summoning of help from outside. Fortunately, the Matabele left open the road to the south, probably hoping that all the Europeans in the country would pack up and go away by it.

The second phase of the rebellion was the gathering of a formidable imperial force. 800 men (the Matabeleland Relief Force) were very quickly raised by Colonel Plumer in the Cape Colony and some Natal volunteers went round by sea *via* Beira. The British Government provided 300 cavalry and 200 mounted infantry and sent off another four companies of mounted infantry from England. In May, Major-General Sir Frederick Carrington was sent to take command of all forces; he had about 2,000 European troops and 600 friendly natives with 1,000 Europeans in reserve at Mafeking; on his staff was Colonel Robert Baden-Powell,* later Lord Baden-Powell, founder of the Boy Scouts. General Carrington very quickly cleared the neighbourhood of Bulawayo and the Matabele retired to the Matopos Hills where in the tortuous valleys and countless caves they might hold out against a large army for years. Several unsuccessful actions were fought and then Rhodes and Earl Grey (who had become Administrator in 1896) made contact with the rebel chiefs through an old woman. The chiefs asked to see Rhodes in person. So, on August 21st, Rhodes, his friend Dr. Sauer, Vere Stent (a South African journalist) and Colenbrander took their lives into their hands and rode into the Matopos Hills to meet the rebel chiefs. Then took place the famous *indaba* in which Rhodes displayed the greatest courage and patience and won the confidence of the Matabele. The talks went on for two months and in the end the Matabele accepted the terms offered and the Rebellion was over (October 1896).

Survey

THE MASHONA REBELLION

In the middle of the Matabele Rebellion things were complicated

*Colonel Baden-Powell did much night scouting in the Matopos; the rebels used to call him "Impeesa"—the Wolf, the beast that does not sleep but sneaks about at night.

by the unexpected rising of the supposedly cowed Mashona. On June 15th, 1896, egged on by witchdoctors and Matabele agents, they rose and killed 119 Europeans in a few days. Lager was formed in the Salisbury gaol and rescue parties sent out to bring in people still defending themselves on isolated mines and farms. One such was the Mazoe Patrol which brought in the people from the Alice Mine, Mazoe. For a time the situation was very serious, as there were only 300 men in Salisbury capable of bearing arms. General Carrington had to make a hurried rearrangement of his forces and detach some to go to Mashonaland. The mounted infantry were brought up from Mafeking and more mounted infantry under Colonel Alderson came into Mashonaland *via* Beira, with the co-operation of the Portuguese. The Natal volunteers, who were on their way to Matabeleland, were intercepted and brought back. The final suppression of the Mashona rebellion was a long drawn out guerrilla war which dragged on well into 1897. There was no one chief with whom negotiations could be opened and as the Mashona retired into caves in remote kopjes they had to be tackled piecemeal. They defended themselves with old trade guns filled with pieces of iron, pot legs, etc., and often had to be literally blasted out with dynamite. As it had proved impossible to force the Mashona to a decisive battle, the imperial troops were removed and the last phase of the suppression was left to the police.

When the Rebellions were over the Mashona and Matabele were settled again and the Native Department overhauled under the charge of Mr. W. H. Milton.

This marks the end of the first period of Rhodesian history after the Occupation. Both the Matabele and the Mashona accepted the situation and made no more attempts to drive the Europeans out.

Supplement

TWO STORIES OF THE REBELLIONS

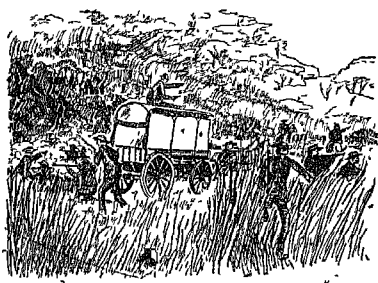
The Indaba in the Matopos. By August, 1896, the Matabele Rebellion had reached a stage where it seemed clear that the rebels would not surrender easily and that to defeat them in the tortuous wilderness of the Matopos Hills would take many men and much time and would cost a great deal of money. This was what Rhodes, knowing that the purse of the Chartered Company was not bottomless, was most anxious to avoid. Also there was a great shortage of fodder and it was becoming impossible to keep the British troops in the country. Rhodes, therefore, sent John Grootboom into the Matopos to make contact with the rebel indunas. Grootboom was a brave Cape native who had distinguished himself on several occasions; this time he and two other natives went into the Matopos

Hills where they met two old women who took a message to the indunas. Presently, some of the indunas came to see Grootboom and he arranged a meeting between them and Rhodes. These were the beginnings; the first important *indaba** took place on August 21st, five miles in the Matopos Hills. The Matabele were nervous of the British troops so near and had asked that only four white men should come. Accordingly, Rhodes, Colenbrander, Dr. Sauer, a friend of Rhodes, and Vere Stent, a newspaper correspondent, rode, armed with nothing but revolvers, into the rebel stronghold. John Grootboom fetched about 40 of the Matabele leaders under a white flag. Rhodes, with Colenbrander interpreting, talked with them; he told them that they would have to surrender their weapons and that those found guilty of murder would be punished. The Matabele were willing to surrender but were still afraid of the European troops. They agreed to call a big meeting of indunas at a place twenty-five miles further west. They wanted the white men to come to it unarmed; Rhodes agreed to this on condition that the Matabele also had no weapons. Rhodes moved his camp to the place where he had met the 40 chief men and stayed there for some time, still talking, arguing and persuading. The camp was quite unprotected but the Matabele made no hostile move, although they could easily have wiped out Rhodes and the other prominent people who visited him, had they wanted to. Indeed, so confident did Rhodes feel that Mrs. Colenbrander and other ladies were allowed to stay at the camp.

On the day appointed for the second *indaba* Rhodes and his party set out for the meeting place. When they arrived they were suddenly surrounded by numbers of Matabele brandishing assegais and rifles. It looked for a moment as if the Matabele were going to fall upon them but Rhodes calmly dismounted, walked over to the surprised rebels and stormed at them for not coming unarmed, as they had promised. His boldness did the trick; the indunas calmed their excited followers and the *indaba* began. Finally, the indunas accepted the terms which Rhodes offered and the rebellion was over. They hailed him as 'Lamula 'mkunzi'—Separator of the Fighting Bulls. For some time after this Rhodes stayed in camp in the Matopos talking to the indunas. His work was nearly undone by the folly of a party of soldiers, who, thinking to find treasure, roughly disturbed the tomb of Mzilikazi and deeply offended the Matabele.

*There are several accounts of the *indaba* which differ considerably in detail.

The Mazoe Patrol. The most remarkable rescue during the Mashona Rebellion was that of a party of fourteen Europeans, including three women, who were cut off at Mazoe. The manager of the Alice Mine had been warned of trouble and was preparing to move all his people to Salisbury. A mule-drawn waggonette was sent out from Salisbury to bring them in; meanwhile they built a rough lager on a kopje behind the mine. On June 18th, the waggonette arrived, driven by Lionel Blakiston, a telegraph official, and at about 11 o'clock on the same day the party set off. They did not realise how serious the position was for they left in separate groups, the first of which was set on and wiped out. The rest raced back to the lager only just in time, as the mine buildings were attacked by a large crowd of rebels. The situation was a desperate one; they had nothing to eat but a few biscuits and very little water. Their only chance was to send a message for help by telegraph to Salisbury and the telegraph office



The Mazoe Patrol

was a mile away. Routledge, the Mazoe telegraph clerk, and Blakiston undertook to make a dash for it. They rode madly across the veld on one horse, reached the telegraph office and had sent the words, "We are surrounded. Dickenson, Cass, Faull killed. For God's sake . . .," when they saw that the rebels were nearly right round the office. They left it quickly

and rode hard for the lager, but they were caught and killed. Their brave sacrifice was not in vain, however. The message reached the Salisbury authorities, already distracted with similar appeals from all directions. A small party of six men under the command of Lieutenant Dan Judson immediately started for the Alice Mine. This party fought its way into Mazoe at 4 o'clock the next afternoon (June 19th) and found the small garrison exhausted and nerve-racked but still alive. They had beaten off attacks for a day and a half and had had nothing to eat but a biscuit each and a little water. Judson considered that the party was still too weak to force a way back to Salisbury, so he sent a message by a brave Cape Coloured man on horseback asking for 40 men and a Maxim gun. The Cape Coloured man started at 2 o'clock in the

morning, but before daybreak he met another stronger patrol which had been sent out a few hours after Judson's. This patrol, which consisted of 12 men under Inspector Nesbitt of the Police, fought its way in early on the morning of June 20th. They now had 30 men and 18 horses, so they determined to break out back to Salisbury. The waggonette was armoured with sheet iron for the protection of the women, horses were inspanned and the escort organised. The nightmarish journey began in the morning; they were fired at nearly the whole way, several were killed and, indeed, the wonder is that any reached safety at all. The hottest spot was the Tatagora Drift, but the attack slackened off when they reached the more open country near Mt. Hampden. Late that night the battered waggonette, drawn by three exhausted horses, limped into Salisbury accompanied by a handful of weary men. They had fought their way for sixteen miles through hundreds of armed savages and had won through. Inspector Nesbitt, who had been responsible for this feat of arms, was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Survey

SOUTHERN RHODESIA UNDER THE CHARTERED COMPANY—1897 to 1914

Although Southern Rhodesia took part in two wars between 1897 and 1923 and was an important base in one of them, the South African War, there was no more fighting on her own soil. Southern Rhodesian history between 1897 and 1923 is largely a private affair; its chief concern is the long drawn out dispute between the Chartered Company and the settlers. Such disputes are always the lot of commercial companies which undertake the opening up of new lands and admit settlers. There was all the difference in the world between the rigidly monopolistic Dutch East India Company of the seventeenth century and the British South Africa Company of the early twentieth century, but the Directors of both, had they been able to meet across the bridge of time, would doubtless have nodded agreement over the ungratefulness and stiff opinions of free settlers.

As this history of the period 1897 to 1923 is complicated, we shall divide it into two periods at the year 1914. In the first of these periods (1897 to 1914) we shall consider under separate headings: the general economic development, the causes of the dispute between the Chartered Company and the settlers, and the political development of the country. The second period (1914 to 1923) contains the fight for self-government and the final settlement of the dispute between the Chartered Company and the settlers.

The Economic Development of Southern Rhodesia. The South

African War held back the development of Southern Rhodesia. Many of its men went away to fight and there was trade depression, rinderpest and a shortage of labour for mining. Conversely, an advantage brought by the war was that numbers of men who had been in Southern Rhodesia during the war liked it so much that they came back later as settlers.

After the war the Chartered Company made a number of changes. Hitherto it had not farmed or mined or traded on its own account; it had been content to hold half-shares in subsidiary mining companies and to provide most of the capital needed for railways and telegraphs. In 1903 it substituted a royalty for the half-share in gold mining companies and reduced to 30% its share in base mineral companies. A few years later the Chartered Company allowed individuals to mine whereas previously only companies could. Thus there appeared the Rhodesian small-worker with his little mill and gang of labourers—typical of the Rhodesia of those days and perhaps its most deserving citizen.

In 1907 the Chartered Company began to farm on its own account and by 1912 it was a cattle rancher on a large scale. By this time, too, the small-workers and private farmers were doing well, the European population increased from 12,500 in 1904 to 23,600 in 1911. The early discouragements that agriculture suffered had been largely overcome; mealies and tobacco were established crops, although the great days of tobacco growing still lay in the future.

The native population accepted the verdict of the failure of the Rebellions and made no further attempts to dispossess the Europeans. The rule of law in the territory gave them more settled conditions and there was a very considerable increase both in population and head of cattle. The process of the economic interlocking of Europeans and Bantu, which was a feature of the old Cape eastern frontier, was repeated in Rhodesia. The cloth, the candles and the alarm clocks found their way into the kraals in increasing quantities in exchange for the labour of the people but *not*, thanks to the laws of the Chartered Company, the brandy and the guns.

Railways. No economic development could have taken place without better communications. Railway building, therefore, was pushed ahead with great speed. Much of the construction was carried out by Mr. George Pauling. The main line from the south reached Bulawayo in 1897; there it divided and one line reached the Victoria Falls in 1904 and the Congo border in 1909; the other line reached Salisbury in 1904 and joined up with the Beira line which had reached Salisbury in 1899. The question of the ownership of the railways is complicated; it will be sufficient to say that, through its holdings of shares in several smaller companies and, after 1908, in the Rhodesia Railway Trust, the Chartered Company was the real owner.

The Dispute between the Chartered Company and the Settlers. The South African War and the death of Rhodes in 1902 tended to tear the young country away from its roots in the Cape Colony; settlers began to think seriously of self-government. The Chartered Company had foreseen that the country would one day be self-governing and in 1898 its shareholders had been promised that when that day came the money which had been spent on administration would be recovered from the new government. This claim was hotly rejected by the settlers, who had no wish to be saddled with an enormous debt when they took over the country. Another fertile field of dispute was the ownership of the unalienated land, (the land which had not yet been sold or given to anybody). Furthermore, the settlers claimed that the Chartered Company ought to separate its commercial and administrative revenue and expenditure; in other words, for financial purposes it should act as two bodies, a government and a commercial company. The settlers considered that the Chartered Company should (as a company) pay taxes on commercial gains to itself (as a government). Another grievance of the settlers was that the Chartered Company was spending too little on administration, especially on public works such as schools. The Chartered Company's reply to this was that it was not allowed by the British government to raise loans for public works, so that all such expenditure had to come out of income. Another source of irritation to the settlers was the Chartered Company's control of the railways, which they felt were being run too much for the profit of the shareholders and not enough as a service to the country, although it was largely private traffic which enabled the railways to show a profit. The dispute may really be traced back to the discontent of the settlers in 1891; the Rebellions and the South African War pushed it into the background, but it boiled up again in 1904 and continued intermittently after that. It is closely tied up with the demand for self-government, but before we consider that we must examine the form of government which was set up in 1898.

The Government of Southern Rhodesia under the Chartered Company. From 1898, in terms of the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council (1898), the government of the country was in the hands of a Legislative Council consisting of an Administrator, a Resident Commissioner (the 'watchdog' of the British government), five members nominated by the Chartered Company and four members elected by the settlers. The nominated members were heads of Departments and corresponded to the senior civil servants; but not to the Ministers, of to-day. They, with the Administrator, were really the executive. The first Administrator under the new Order in Council was Mr. W. H. (later Sir William) Milton. At first there was also an Administrator of Matabeleland and Mr. Milton was described as Senior Administrator of Southern Rhodesia, but in 1901 the Matabeleland post was abolished. Mr. Milton had been trained in the Cape Civil Service and he built up a very efficient

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

service in Southern Rhodesia on Cape lines, staffing it to a great extent with good men from the Cape. He was succeeded in 1899 by Sir Drummond Chaplin, an able man with considerable experience of public life, who remained Administrator until 1923. It is clear that at first the majority held by the nominated members of the Legislative Council gave the Chartered Company the whip hand over the settlers. But, as the population increased, the number of elected members increased; by 1908 they already had a majority and in 1920 there were thirteen elected members and six nominated members. Even so, it should be noted that the Chartered Company safeguarded itself by reserving the right to introduce financial measures and thus keeping 'the power of the purse'—the decisive factor in government.

The National Convention. In 1909 delegates from Southern Rhodesia attended the South African National Convention which was planning the union of the South African colonies. The delegates thought that a settlement of the dispute with the Chartered Company ought to come before they considered joining the South African colonies in a union. Thus, Southern Rhodesia remained outside the Union of South Africa, though there is a clause in the South Africa Act which allows her admission, subject to the consent of the King in Council.

Survey

SOUTHERN RHODESIA UNDER THE CHARTERED COMPANY—1914 to 1923

The year 1914 is an important one in the history of Southern Rhodesia for two reasons: the original Charter of 1889 expired in that year and the question arose whether it was to be renewed or whether some other form of government was to be set up; also, the question of the ownership of the unalienated land was submitted to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

✓ **The Supplemental Charter.** The settlers were not, as we have seen, at all satisfied with the Government of the Chartered Company but in 1914 they were unable to agree about the best alternative. Consequently, with the consent of all but one of the elected members, the British government in 1915 granted to the Chartered Company a Supplemental Charter for another ten years. This Supplemental Charter was a renewal of the original Charter, but it contained an important new clause which stated that if the Legislative Council asked for Responsible Government (i.e., self-government) and could show that the country was fit for it, then Responsible Government could be granted even before the ten years were up. Also, the Supplemental Charter limited the Chartered Company's right to compensation to the actual sums spent on administrative works and buildings. There the matter rested for the moment and both settlers and Chartered Company agreed to forget their differences for the duration of the World War which had started in 1914.

The Fight for Self-Government. In 1915 the Chartered Company suggested that Northern and Southern Rhodesia should be joined; this alarmed the settlers, who felt that the British government would never grant self-government to the combined countries on account of the tiny white population of Northern Rhodesia. In 1918 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council announced its decision on the ownership of the unalienated land. It decided that the land belonged to the Crown (in effect, the British government) by right of conquest but that as the Chartered Company had acted as agent for the Crown it was entitled to repayment of money spent by it on administration. The claims of the settlers and the natives were dismissed.

This decision led to two things: in the first place, the Chartered Company, which now no longer wanted to govern the country, began to prepare its claim for repayment of expenses; in the second place, the settlers began in earnest the fight for self-government. The Chartered Company put in a claim for £8,000,000 which was reduced to £5,000,000 subject to certain deductions, by the Cave Commission set up by the British Government in 1919 to investigate the claim.

In 1917 the settlers had formed the Responsible Government Association. Its Chairman was Mr. J. McChlery, an elected member of the Legislative Council, and its Organising Secretary was Mrs. Tawse Jollie, the wife of an 1893 pioneer and widow of Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, the first Administrator of Mashonaland. The purpose of the Association was to stir up public opinion in favour of Responsible Government. With great difficulty, on account of bad communications, branches were formed all over the country and at the first congress in 1919 Sir Charles Coghlan was elected Chairman and from that time was the leader in the battle.

At the election in 1920 all but one of the elected members returned to the Legislative Council stood for Responsible Government. This new Legislative Council* promptly passed a resolution asking for Responsible Government. The request was coldly received by Lord Milner, at that time Secretary of State for the Colonies, but the Legislative Council repeated it and when Mr. Winston Churchill succeeded Lord Milner at the Colonial Office he set up a Committee under Lord Buxton to examine the question (1921). The Buxton Committee recommended that the Colonial Office should draw up a Constitution (form of government) and that this should be put before a referendum of Rhodesian voters. Accordingly, a delegation led by Sir Charles Coghlan went to London to discuss it.

About the same time the proposal was again made, and strongly supported by the Chartered Company and the Rhodesian newspapers, that Rhodesia should seek admission to the Union of South Africa. This complicated the whole question and the British

*One of its members was Mrs. Tawse Jollie, who had the honour of being the first woman to be elected to a Dominion or Colonial legislature.

Government required that the alternative of joining the Union be put before the Rhodesian voters as well as that of Responsible Government. So another delegation left Rhodesia for Cape Town to talk over the terms with General Smuts, then Prime Minister of South Africa. General Smuts offered generous terms both to the Chartered Company and to the Rhodesians; the Union was to pay out the Chartered Company for railways, public works and its interest in Crown lands and to provide a total of £5,000,000 for development. Southern Rhodesia was to have five Senators and ten Members of the House of Assembly in the Union Parliament.

There was a good deal to be said on both sides of the question; those in favour of joining the Union pointed out that Southern Rhodesia had been colonised from the south, it used Cape law, its railways were continuous with the Union system, much of its trade was with the Union and there were at that time no customs barriers; further, there was some doubt as to whether Southern Rhodesia could stand alone with 33,000 Europeans among 750,000 natives, a debt to the Chartered Company and the Chartered Company itself still having great possessions in the land. For the case against joining the Union, there was the fear of republicanism and government from a distant and perhaps unsympathetic capital and the possibility of an influx of poor whites. In any case, the anti-Unionists felt that the country should be independent before the question of joining the Union was considered.

The Referendum. In 1922 excitement over the issue ran high. The Unionists had on their side the Chartered Company, the newspapers and most of the mining companies operating in the country. There was a drought which hit farmers hard and made some of them pessimistic about the ability of the country to stand on its own feet. Furthermore, there were many who thought that the Constitution proposed did not offer a fair chance of success, since it appeared that Southern Rhodesia would have to shoulder the responsibility of government without owning the land, the minerals or the railways, and without complete control over native policy.

To win over the cautious and the pessimistic the Responsible Government Party made the most strenuous efforts. Rhodesians were well aware that the issue was a turning point in the history of the country and they travelled miles to attend meetings held in all sorts of places, from the verandahs of country hotels to tobacco barns lit by stable lamps. The Referendum took place in October 1922; 8,774 votes were in favour of Responsible Government, 5,989 for joining the Union. The fight over, the heat of battle soon died down and no ill-feelings remained; the Chairman of the Chartered Company telegraphed his congratulations.

The Final Settlement. The new Constitution, which is treated in some detail in Chapter XI, allowed self-government, with reservations in respect of certain specified matters, chiefly in connection with native affairs. The Chartered Company received

£3,750,000, of which the Southern Rhodesian government was to pay £2,000,000, kept 3,700,000 acres of land for its own commercial purposes and kept the mineral rights (later bought by the Government of Southern Rhodesia for £2,000,000). The Chartered Company also remained the real owner of the railway system, though in 1927 its sole right to fix railway rates was modified by the setting up of a Railway Commission.*

By the terms of the settlement the unalienated lands became the property of the government of Southern Rhodesia. There was general satisfaction with the arrangement; the new colony started life with a public debt which was not unduly large and with the ownership of the unalienated land, the British Government stepped out with little loss and the Chartered Company not only received compensation which it thought it would never recover, but kept the mineral rights and very considerable commercial assets.

For 34 years the Chartered Company had been developing new countries and had paid no dividends to its shareholders. Now at last it became a purely commercial organisation and its patient shareholders began to reap their reward. It is, however, no injustice to the Chartered Company to point out that the settlers rightly claimed that they, too, had been developing the country and that, while the shareholders had invested their money in it, they had invested their whole lives as well. Without them, the British South Africa Company, at least in Southern Rhodesia, would have been a thing of no account.

Responsible Government. In September 1923 the Colony of Southern Rhodesia was formally annexed to Great Britain; in October the new Constitution was established and Southern Rhodesia became a Self-governing Colony. Sir John Chancellor was appointed the first Governor and Sir Charles Coghlan, as was fitting and proper, became the first Prime Minister.

Northern Rhodesia. The original North Western Rhodesia and North Eastern Rhodesia were combined in 1911 as Northern Rhodesia, still a part of the Chartered Company's territories. With a tiny white population and very bad communications it had never been self-supporting and there was no question of its becoming self-governing. From 1924 it was governed as a Crown Colony while the Chartered Company kept the mineral rights, 2,500,000 acres of land and a half-interest in the proceeds of land sales in the North Western area. Its first Governor was Sir Herbert Stanley.

Survey

THE FOUNDERS

Rhodes. Cecil John Rhodes died in 1902, a comparatively young man; his health had never been very good so that throughout his life he was oppressed with the feeling that he would never have

*In 1947 the Railways were bought by the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

time to do all the things he intended to do. "So much to do, so little done" might have been words often on his lips. Yet what stupendous things he achieved! What an immense quantity of work he did! His enemies accused him of being unscrupulous and arrogant; he himself, addressing an English audience, told them that South Africa was in an early stage of development and that things had to be done which might shock the more touchy consciences of an older and more settled world. He never pretended to have all the virtues. He had colossal energy—there was nobody he despised so much as a loafer; he had the immense breadth of vision which saw in the future a greater South Africa than existed in his time; he had an idea, the idea of the North, the idea of a great civilised dominion stretching beyond the Zambesi into central Africa; he had the quality of character which made men work themselves to death for him and worship him.

"I admire the grandeur and loneliness of the Matoppos," says his last will, "and therefore I desire to be buried in the Matoppos on the hill which I used to visit and which I called the 'View of the World' in a square to be cut in the rock on the top of the hill covered with a plain brass plate with these words thereon—'Here lie the remains of Cecil John Rhodes.'" His body was taken from the Cape and buried in the Matoppos Hills. On the hills all round stood Matabele; as his coffin was lowered into its rock tomb even they, whose power had been destroyed by Rhodes, thundered the royal salute, 'Hayete.' He was a very great man.

The Rhodes Scholarships. One of the most remarkable bequests ever made for education was made by Rhodes when he left in his will a huge sum of money to be used for scholarships to Oxford University by young men from the British Empire, America and Germany. The scholarships are exceptionally generous and the conditions on which they are awarded stress the quality of leadership. Rhodesia was allotted three scholarships a year, a very large number in proportion to its population—perhaps a measure of Rhodes's faith in its future.

Beit, Jameson and Selous. Alfred Beit died in 1906; he had never been so much in the forefront of affairs as Rhodes, but he was a very clever financier and one of Rhodes's most faithful supporters. Rhodesia benefited very greatly from his will; the money which he left is used for scholarships, bridges, school halls, libraries and many other valuable purposes.

Jameson became the leader of a political party in the Cape Colony and Prime Minister of the Cape from 1904 to 1908. In 1911 he was created a Baronet and was thenceforth Sir Starr Jameson, Bt. In 1912 he went back to England on account of his health, but kept up his interest in Rhodesia as a Director, and in 1913, Chairman, of the Chartered Company. He died in London in 1917. The Doctor—Dr. Jim—Sir Starr—was more closely connected with the beginnings of Southern Rhodesia than anyone except Rhodes. With his gay, bantering manner, his dislike of

official formality and his buoyancy in the face of misfortune and mistakes, he was typical of the best kind of early Rhodesian.

After 1896, Selous settled in England and spent his time writing, shooting, collecting birds' eggs and taking trips sometimes to Africa and other parts of the world. Although he was 63 he was accepted for the army in 1915 and was sent to East Africa where he won the D.S.O.; in 1917 he was killed in action. F. C. Selous is the romantic figure of the early days; he had no taste for politics and no interest in finance. He was at home in the veld, he knew the country and he understood the natives; the part he played in the founding of the country was a lesser one than that of Rhodes or Jameson but his gifts as hunter, guide and writer make him worthy of a high place in the history of Rhodesia.

Survey

THE 1914—1918 WAR

As Rhodesia was a country full of young men it is not surprising that so high a proportion as twenty-five per cent of its white population served in the 1914-18 War. The 1st Rhodesia Regiment fought in the South West Africa campaign in 1914-15 and the 2nd Rhodesia Regiment fought in the East Africa campaign in 1915-17. Many Rhodesians went overseas and fought on all fronts in many different forces.

Survey

THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER

Sir Charles Coghlan was born and educated in the Cape Colony. He practised as a lawyer in Bulawayo and became leader of the elected members of the Legislative Council. He represented Southern Rhodesia at the National Convention where the constitution of the Union of South Africa was drawn up. In 1914 he was in favour of the Charter being renewed as he thought that Responsible Government would not, in any case, be granted. After the Privy Council judgment on the ownership of the land he became leader of the Responsible Government party and was the principal representative of the people of Southern Rhodesia in the negotiations of 1920-23. In these, the wonderful memory and quick grasp of essentials of the 'old bush lawyer' (as he called himself) served his people well. When Responsible Government was granted he became Southern Rhodesia's first Prime Minister and guided her through her early growing pains until he died in 1927. He was a kindly and courteous gentleman, beloved of his friends, and he was a statesman. He was the last person to be buried in the Matopos Hills where Rhodes, Jameson and the men of the Shangani Patrol are buried.

Supplement

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: A YOUNG COLONY

Population. Censuses were not taken in the early years of

the settlement of the Colony and no true census was ever taken of the native population. It will be sufficient to indicate the growth of population by a few figures:

	Europeans	Natives (estimated)
1891	1,500 (estimated)	
1901	11,032 (informal census)	550,000
1911	23,606	751,580
1921	33,620	864,706

The European population was mainly British by nationality; for example the census of 1921 showed that 95.79 per cent of the people were British by nationality. The remaining 4.21 per cent were mostly Greek, Italian, Russian and German, in that order. Again, in 1921 the census showed that more of the European inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia were born in South Africa than in any one other country (34.6 per cent compared to the 31.37 per cent of the British Isles and 24.17 per cent of Southern Rhodesia). Information on the parentage of the population is not available for 1921 but from the 1926 census it is seen that the proportion of the population which was of British *race*, as apart from British *nationality*, was a little over 70 per cent. Of the remaining 30 per cent, at least two-thirds were Afrikaners.

These rather dry figures are given because the composition of the population of a young colony is a very important matter. It is clear that, although the colony grew away from South Africa politically, a very substantial part of its population was of South African origin.

Schools.* The first school in Southern Rhodesia was started by Mother Patrick in Salisbury, in 1892. It was in a wattle and daub hut and had four pupils. It is now the Salisbury Dominican Convent School, which has the honour of being the oldest school in the colony. Most of the early schools were started by the churches, but few of these survive in their original form; another, however, is St. George's College which was founded by the Jesuits in Bulawayo in 1896 and was the first school to carry on secondary education. The first non-church school was started in Salisbury in 1898 by the Town Council in conjunction with the government and parents; an existing Anglican school was merged with it and

*Most of the information in this section is derived from an unpublished B.Ed. thesis written by L. T. Molam, B.A., B.Ed.

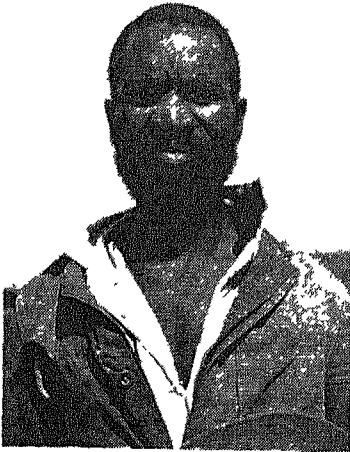
it developed later into Prince Edward School, Salisbury, and the Girls' High School, Salisbury. Plumtree School began in 1902 as a school for the children of railway employees; it was also a non-church school. Eveline High School started life as St. John's Girls' School, a Church of England school, in Bulawayo, in 1898, while Umtali High School is descended from an American Methodist Episcopalian school, started in 1896. Chaplin High School, Gwelo, was started in 1903.

The Chartered Company from the beginning gave grants of money, land, etc., to the schools and from 1899 onwards tightened up its control of them. After 1903 more attention was paid to the need for boarding schools on account of the widely spread population. In 1908 it was generally felt that the church schools should be replaced by government schools and the foundations were laid of the present system of state education. Of course, nearly all the early schools were primary schools for girls and boys; many children were sent out of the colony for their secondary education. For example, in 1918 no more than twenty Rhodesian pupils sat for Matriculation examination and only nine passed it.

Native education was for many years carried on entirely by missions with a little help in the form of grants from the Chartered Company. The first government native school was started at Domboshawa, near Salisbury, in 1920.

Churches. London Missionary Society and Roman Catholic missionaries had been in the country before the occupation of Mashonaland. There were clergymen with the Pioneer Column and churches were built in the very early days of Salisbury. Many new missions were started in 1891, since when hundreds of devoted men and women have worked in remote places preaching the Gospel, giving practical education, softening the harsh impact of the European invasion and planting the seeds of civilised life.

Southern Rhodesia about 1920. In certain ways the Southern Rhodesia of 1920 was very different from the Southern Rhodesia of to-day. Perhaps the greatest difference is in communications. The roads were very bad; outside the towns there were hardly any properly made roads and no road bridges. There were very few cars and a cross-country car trip was a difficult undertaking. People travelled in mule waggons and even coaches were still used, e.g., between Umtali and Melsetter. Telephones were comparatively rare and aeroplanes had not been seen until 1920 when 'The Silver



[Reproduced by permission of the Public Relations Dept of S Rhodesia]

The old

The new



[Reproduced by permission of the Public Relations Dept of S Rhodesia]

The old



[Reproduced by permission of Central African Archives]

LXIII SALISBURY IN 1896



[Reproduced by permission of the Public Relations Dept of S Rhodesia]

LXIV SALISBURY IN 1947

Queen' crashed near Bulawayo on the first London to Cape flight.

The towns were smaller and in many ways less attractive than they are now. Most of the streets were not tarred so that one walked through mud or dust according to the season and houses and shops were very hard to keep clean. Buildings were nearly all of one storey. The towns were so small that most people knew each other, a stranger was the subject of curiosity and residents were able to keep open house more than they can now. People tended to stay at home more in the evenings on account of the unlighted and dusty or muddy streets. There was, nevertheless, plenty of entertainment in the way of dances and theatrical shows.

The first moving pictures ever seen in the country were shown in 1906 by a travelling showman who came up from Beira. About 1907 a regular bioscope existed in Bulawayo. The first full-length film to be seen in the country was shown by Mr. O. P. Wheeler about 1908 or 1909.

Games had always been popular and took a high place in the life of the average Rhodesian. Sir William Milton, who was himself a very good cricketer and had been a rugby international, did much for the encouragement of games when he was Administrator. Clothes, of course, followed overseas fashions and helmets and broad-brimmed felt hats were more common than they are now. The khaki shorts, which are such a distinctive feature of Rhodesian dress to-day, probably began to come into general use about the time of the 1914-18 War.

SOURCE READINGS

1. Campaign in the Matopos

19th July.—At last our time came. The order was given to the men in the morning, "Bake two days' bread, and sleep all you can this afternoon." At what was usually our bedtime the whole column paraded without noise or trumpet call, and at 10.30 we moved off in the moonlight into the Matopos. I was told off to guide the column, because I knew the way. I preferred to go alone in front of the column, for fear of having my attention distracted if anyone were with me, and of my thereby losing my bearings. And there was something of a weird and delightful feeling in mouching along alone, with a dark, silent square of men and horses looming along behind one. Neither talking nor smoking was allowed—for the gleam of a match lighting a pipe shines a long way in the darkness. Except for the occasional

cough of a man or snort of a horse, the column, nearly a thousand strong, moved in complete silence. Once a dog yelped with excitement after a buck started from its lair, the orders for the night expressly stated that no dog should go with the column, and accordingly this one was promptly caught and killed with an assegai.

Soon after midnight we were within a mile of the place; the square halted, and each man lay down to sleep just where he stood—and jolly cold it was!

From The 'Matabele Campaign, 1896' by
Colonel R. S. S. Baden-Powell.

Question

What do you know of the later history of Colonel Baden-Powell?

2. Self Government

RHODESIA A BRITISH COLONY

OCCUPATION ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATED BY ANNEXATION

THE KING'S GREETINGS TO HIS LOYAL SUBJECTS

THE PASSING OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

ADDRESS BY HIS HONOUR THE ADMINISTRATOR

TRIBUTE TO THE PIONEERS OF MASHONALAND

"From and after the coming into operation of this order, the said territories shall be annexed to and form part of His Majesty's Dominions, and shall be known as the Colony of Southern Rhodesia."

(Then follows an account of the ceremony in Cecil Square, Salisbury on September 12th, 1923.)

THE ADMINISTRATOR'S ADDRESS

His Honour the Administrator then addressed the gathering. He said: We are met here to-day to celebrate the 33rd anniversary of the occupation of this Territory by the Pioneer Column; to do honour to the Pioneers and the memory of those who are gone and to those who are here to-day. I am very glad indeed to see there is such a good muster of them here to-day. I suppose when the occupation took place, there was hardly anybody present at that time or in the country who did not believe and did not know that the occupation was effected on behalf of the British Crown, and that the British Flag would remain here for all time. But, nevertheless, all these years have passed, and it is only to-day that the Territory is to be formally annexed to the British Crown. That, I think, may be said in one sense, to complete the ideal with which the great founder of the country started, and that we have in most

respects through the years that have intervened carried on the affairs of this country on the assumption and a very true assumption, that this is in very fact and deed British Territory. Still, the seal has only been put on the work to-day when the country becomes formally and legally a part of the Dominions of the Crown. I have been authorised to read to you the following gracious message from His Majesty the King:—

The King sends His best wishes and warm greetings to His loyal subjects in Southern Rhodesia on the occasion of the formal incorporation of the Territory in His Majesty's Dominions.

I am sure it will be your wish that I should offer to His Majesty our grateful thanks for his kind wishes and greetings. (Applause)

From 'The Rhodesia Herald,' Thursday,
September 13th, 1923.

Questions

1. To what event in the history of Southern Rhodesia does this extract refer?
2. What is meant by 'annexation'?
3. What anniversary is kept on September 12th?
4. Who was the Administrator in 1923?
5. What is the name of the King whose message was read?

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1894—The Matabeleland Order in Council.
- 1895-6—The Jameson Raid
- 1896—The Matabele Rebellion.
- 1896-7—The Mashona Rebellion.
- 1897—The railway reached Bulawayo.
- 1898—The Southern Rhodesia Order in Council.
- 1899-1902—The South African War.
- 1902—Rhodes died.
- 1904—The railway was completed between Mafeking and Beira.
- 1909—Southern Rhodesian delegates attended the South African National Convention.
- 1914—The First World War began.
- 1915—The Supplemental Charter.
- 1917—The fight for Responsible Government began.
- 1918—The First World War ended.
- The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided the ownership of the land.
- 1919—The Cave Commission.
- 1920—The Responsible Government Party was successful in the elections for the Legislative Council.
- 1921—The Buxton Committee.
- A Rhodesian delegation went to London to discuss Responsible Government.
- 1922 (April)—A Rhodesian delegation went to Cape Town to discuss the terms on which Southern Rhodesia might join the Union of South Africa.
- (October)—The Referendum.
- 1923—Southern Rhodesia became a Self-governing Colony.

TIME CHART

Continue the Time Chart for Rhodesia.

EXERCISES

- A. 1. Explain the constitution set up by the Matabeleland Order in Council (1894).
2. In what ways was Rhodesia connected with the Jameson Raid?
3. Explain the causes of the Matabele Rebellion.
4. Write an account of the Matabele Rebellion.
5. If possible, visit the scenes of some of the events of the Matabele Rebellion.
6. Write an account of the Mashona Rebellion.
- B. 7. Imagine that you are one of those besieged at the Alice Mine, Mazoe. Write an account of your experiences.
8. If possible, make an expedition along the road from Mazoe to Salisbury (the more westerly road). Use your imagination.
- A. 9. Write a general account of the economic development of Southern Rhodesia up to 1923.
10. Find out more about the history of any special branch of economic life which interests you, e.g., gold-mining, maize growing, cattle ranching.
11. What were the causes of dispute between the Chartered Company and the Rhodesian settlers?
12. Describe the constitution set up by the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council (1898).
13. Write an essay on: The fight for self-government in Southern Rhodesia.
14. Explain why the year 1914 was an important one in the history of Southern Rhodesia.
15. In 1922, what were the arguments for and against Southern Rhodesia joining the Union of South Africa?
16. Give the terms on which Southern Rhodesia was handed over to its people in 1923.
17. Using the Index and referring to earlier chapters write (a) a life of Rhodes, (b) a life of Jameson.
18. Find out the conditions on which Rhodes Scholarships are awarded.
19. Make a list of halls, bridges, libraries, etc., in your neighbourhood on which Beit Trust money has been spent.
20. Write a detailed essay on: The Government of Southern Rhodesia, 1890 to 1923. Include the period when it was not yet called Southern Rhodesia.
- B. 21. Imagine that you are a pupil at Mother Patrick's school in Salisbury in 1892. Describe a day in your life.
22. Find out when your school was started. If possible, write a history of it.

23. Contrast everyday life in Southern Rhodesia about 1920 (a) with that of 1891, (b) with that of to-day.
24. Investigate the history of your own district or town. Find out the origin of its name, why it became an inhabited area, who were its principal early citizens, (in the case of a town) what were the edges of the built-up areas at different dates. Make plans showing its growth. Explore the older parts to see if anything remains of its early buildings. A class might compile a complete local history.

TEST QUESTIONS

1. Give the date of the Matabeleland Order in Council.
2. Who was the first Administrator of Matabeleland and Mashonaland.
3. What did the people of Bulawayo think about the Jameson Raid when they first heard of it?
4. What two steps did the British government take in 1896 to keep a closer watch over the doings of the Chartered Company?
5. When did the Matabele Rebellion start?
6. What different kinds of troops were used to put down the Matabele Rebellion?
7. Who commanded the troops in Matabeleland in 1896? Name two of his senior officers.
8. How was the Matabele Rebellion ended?
9. Why was the Mashona Rebellion more difficult to bring to a quick end than the Matabele Rebellion?
10. What change did the Chartered Company make in the mining regulations in 1903?
11. When did the railway reach (a) Bulawayo, (b) Salisbury? When was the system continuous from Mafeking to Beira?
12. What was the dispute between the Chartered Company and the settlers about the money spent on administration?
13. Who were the first and second Administrators after the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council?
14. When was the Charter renewed?
15. What was the clause in the Supplemental Charter referring to Responsible Government?
16. What was the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the ownership of the unalienated lands of Southern Rhodesia? Who claimed these lands?
17. What was the Cave Commission?
18. Who were the leaders of the settlers in the fight for self-government?
19. What was the Buxton Committee?
20. What terms did General Smuts offer if Southern Rhodesia were to join the Union of South Africa?

21. Who were the principal supporters in Southern Rhodesia of the proposal that Southern Rhodesia should join the Union of South Africa?
22. In the Referendum of 1922 how many votes were (a) for Responsible Government, (b) for joining the Union?
23. In 1923 what money compensation did the Chartered Company receive in respect of Southern Rhodesia?
24. What other assets did the Chartered Company keep in Southern Rhodesia?
25. What is a Rhodes Scholarship?
26. For what purposes is the money left by Alfred Beit used?
27. How did Selous meet his death?
28. Who was the first Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia?

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Volume VIII, Chapters XXII, XXIII, XXIV.

E. A. Walker—A History of South Africa, Chapters XIII, XIV.

The various biographies of Rhodes listed in Chapter VIII.

F. C. Selous—Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia

R. S. S. Baden-Powell—The Matabele Campaign, 1896.

The Autobiography of Kingsley Fairbridge

E. Tawse Jollie—The Real Rhodesia.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

GOVERNMENT

Government is the device whereby people are able to live together in groups; it makes it possible for the people as a group to do things which single families or individuals could not do; it prevents individuals or smaller groups doing things harmful to the rest.

Abraham Lincoln, in a famous speech, earnestly hoped "that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." Government must be "of the people" and it may be "for the people;" it does not have to be "by the people." But, government "by the people" is at once a goal and a challenge to those who hanker after it and the pride of those who have attained it. Government "by the people" means self-government; to govern itself a people needs toughness and resilience to withstand misfortunes and to turn a deaf ear to fair words and crafty promises. It needs common sense, prudence and a willingness to split differences. Above all, it needs a sense of *responsibility*, of a moral obligation not to "pass by on the other side." It is easy for a Cabinet Minister to show a sense of responsibility; it is easy for the man in the street to throw off his responsibility. "What can I do?" he says, "I am only one, I am unimportant, let the Government do it." "I am unfortunate," another says, "let the Government look after me." "I hate the Government," says a third, "what has it done for me? I will break the laws, I will cheat the Government." Such sentiments are so easy, so common and so dangerous; they are the denial of self-government. The responsibility of the man in the street means the certain knowledge that the government of his country is his concern; that "the Government" is not a mysterious god which he is required to serve but a piece of practical machinery, worked by men like himself, which enables him to live his life more happily and more usefully; that every time he cheats the Government or consents to its being cheated, he is cheating himself and his neighbours; that for every failure to take the proper share of a citizen in the working of the machinery he is a collaborator in the destruction of that machinery and the death of self-government. Let the man in the street never forget the imperishable words: "that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth!"

Systems of Self-Government. If it is the duty of a citizen to take a proper share in the working of the machinery of government, he must know how the machinery works.

The earliest democratic states were tiny city-states where all the citizens could gather in one place, choose their rulers and make their wishes known. This, of course, is not possible in a modern state so that various systems have been devised to reach the same end. None of these systems is faultless; like all machines, they sometimes need repairs, sometimes need new parts, occasionally come near to a breakdown. Many attempts have been made to invent faultless systems of government and fix them for all time; these attempts have failed. A satisfactory system must be able to change with the changing needs of the times.

The English Parliamentary System. When a French historian said, "The constitution of England can ceaselessly change; or rather it does not exist," he was simply stating a fundamental truth about the English system of government. It has grown, is growing and is not fixed; it is not even written down. The English system is not the only one and it may not be the best one but it has certain very great virtues and it has been the pattern for many other systems. It is distinguished by orderliness of proceedings, orderliness of behaviour and pride in the ancient traditions of freedom and honesty in public life.

We are here concerned with the system of government in Southern Rhodesia which is one of those modelled on the English system. The Constitution of Southern Rhodesia, unlike that of England, is written down. But it can be changed and there is much in the actual working of the machinery of government that is not the subject of rules and laws but only of custom. It is this which gives it that toughness and elasticity which are so indispensable to successful self-government.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The Government of a state is divided into three parts:

THE EXECUTIVE, which actually carries on the business of governing;

THE LEGISLATURE, which makes the laws which the Executive puts into effect;

THE JUDICIARY, which interprets the laws, that is, decides how they are applied in particular cases

THE EXECUTIVE

In Southern Rhodesia the Executive is the Governor (who represents the King) and his Ministers. *In theory*, all the acts of the Executive are the acts of the Governor; *in practice*, hardly any of them are. They are either the acts of the Governor in Council or of a Cabinet Minister. The expression 'Governor in Council' really means the Executive Council, which is composed of the Governor and six people who are, in practice, the Cabinet Ministers. The Cabinet, which is the most important part of the

Executive, consists of the Prime Minister and five other Cabinet Ministers. We have, therefore, two overlapping parts of the Executive—the Cabinet and the Executive Council. The Cabinet as a body makes decisions which the Executive Council puts into effect; a Cabinet Minister also has executive power. The Cabinet is closely bound up with Parliament, so that we will return to it after considering Parliament.

THE LEGISLATURE

The Legislature of Southern Rhodesia is Parliament. It is at present one body, the Legislative Assembly, though some day there may be a second body, the Legislative Council, which will be like the South African Senate or the English House of Lords.

The Legislative Assembly has 30 Members of Parliament who have been elected by the people. Its principal business is to make laws for the well-being and good order of the country. Most of its work is done by debate and its decisions are made by the votes of the majority; its chairman is the Speaker who is elected by the Members and who has a casting vote if the voting is equal but otherwise does not vote. The Speaker need not be an elected Member of Parliament. Parliament does not sit all the time; it must meet once a year and usually meets more often for a few weeks at a time. It is dissolved at the end of five years, if not before.

The Party System. "The House of Commons lives in a state of perpetual potential choice: at any moment it can choose a ruler and dismiss a ruler. And therefore party is inherent in it, is bone of its bone, and breath of its breath."²³ A feature of the English Parliamentary system of government which distinguishes it from some other systems (e.g., the American) is that the Cabinet Ministers are chosen from the Members of Parliament. Actually, in Southern Rhodesia, they are appointed by the Governor but in practice the Governor does not just choose any Members. This is where *custom* comes in. The Members of Parliament are divided into groups called political parties. Each party has an organisation outside Parliament and it is usual for the members of a party to agree together, at least in important matters. When a General Election has been held it is probable that one party will have more Members of Parliament than any other. The Governor then sends for the leader of that party and asks him to form a government; the leader then gives the Governor a list of Members of Parliament in his own party whom he wants as Ministers. The Governor then appoints them Ministers and appoints the leader of the party Prime Minister. It is possible for someone who is not a Member of Parliament to be a Minister for a short time but unless he becomes a Member of Parliament within four months he must cease to be a Minister.

It is sometimes asked whether it would not be better for the

Governor to choose the Ministers from all the parties and form what is called a 'best man' government. The answer lies in history; in the seventeenth century the King chose his Ministers to suit himself; but when Parliament secured control of the State money, the King found that unless his Ministers were supported by Parliament he could not carry on the government. He also found it extremely difficult to carry on the government unless his Ministers agreed with each other. So the system grew up whereby the Cabinet is chosen from the party with the majority in Parliament. It grew gradually, not from the theories of armchair political philosophers, but as a practical measure to meet the needs of the new situation which had arisen when the power of government passed from the King to Parliament. In the same way, the Prime Minister, who took the King's place at the head of the government, came into existence to meet the contingency of a foreign King not interested in English politics.

If the Cabinet is chosen from the party with a majority in Parliament, it is certain of its actions being supported by Parliament. If the Cabinet were composed of men who could not agree among themselves, they would find it difficult to carry on government. Even if they agreed, but were not supported by an organised party in Parliament, they would never be certain of new laws being passed by Parliament and their government would be feeble. For, although the Executive governs according to laws made by the Legislature, in practice the Executive invites the Legislature to pass the laws it needs for good government. Indeed, nearly all the proposed new laws put before Parliament originate with the Cabinet. Now, if a Cabinet decided to govern without the support of a majority in Parliament, it could do so for a time although it would probably not be able to have any new laws passed. But when the time came round for the annual Budget to be presented to Parliament the Cabinet would probably be unable to carry on government; because the Budget is the account of the nation's income and expenditure and no money can be spent or collected without the consent of Parliament. Parliament thus has the power of the purse and therefore Parliament, through the votes of the majority, can make and unmake Cabinets. This is what we mean when we say that the Cabinet is responsible to Parliament.

In practice, if a Cabinet loses its majority through some members changing their minds and refusing to support it, the Governor, on the advice of the Prime Minister, dissolves Parliament, a General Election is held and the Cabinet resigns.

The second biggest party (or group of parties) in Parliament is called the Opposition. The leader of the Opposition may move a vote of 'No Confidence' in the Government, in which case a general debate is held about the Government's actions but, unless some of the Government's supporters desert it, the vote of No Confidence is defeated. Similarly, the Prime Minister may move a vote of 'Confidence.'

Sometimes it happens that there is no one party stronger than all the others put together; in that case two things may happen. Either, two or more parties will temporarily join together and form a Coalition, or the Cabinet will be drawn from the strongest party but will depend on another party for its support and consequently will be liable to defeat at any time.

It should be understood that it is not necessary for the Cabinet to resign if it is defeated on an unimportant matter, but it always resigns if defeated on an important matter, especially a question of spending or raising money. The Cabinet, in fact, always looks upon votes in money matters as votes of Confidence.

The important things to remember about this Party Cabinet system of government are:

- (1) It ensures that the government carries out the wishes of a majority of the representatives elected to Parliament;
- (2) It exists more by custom than by law and consequently it would be easy to alter it; but
- (3) It has been found by long experience to be the system most suitable for its purpose.

It is not an artificial theoretical system, but a very practical one hammered out for very practical purposes. If parties were abolished and people were generally elected to Parliament for themselves alone, it is almost certain that within a short time the Members of Parliament would form themselves into groups (parties, in fact) and start the system all over again.

It is necessary to insist on the fact that the party system is not a 'frill' but is an indispensable part of the British system of government. 'Under a parliamentary system, therefore, efficient government depends upon the harmonious co-operation of the executive government and the Parliament to which it is responsible. It is party which makes such co-operation possible.'²⁴ Party is the connecting link between the executive and the legislature, between Cabinet and Parliament. It is the connecting link also between Cabinet and people, and between Parliament and people. It is party, moreover, which provides the chief motive power in any system of government; and the clue to the comparatively successful working of the British system of government is to be found in the British party system.

The Work of Parliament. Parliament does much of its work through Committees, some permanent and some set up to examine special questions, but the most important business of Parliament is the making of new laws. Great care is taken over this, to see that no new laws are made without the fullest possible consideration.

The Making of Laws. A proposed law is described as a Bill. Most of the Bills put before Parliament are Government Bills, that is, they are Bills which the Government is inviting Parliament to pass. Private Bills deal with local or sectional or comparatively unimportant matters. A Bill first sees the light when it is drafted

by the Department of Justice. The draft Bill is published in the Government Gazette.

First Reading. The long title of the Bill is read out.

Second Reading. The mover, nearly always a Cabinet Minister, moves 'that the Bill be read a second time.' He makes a speech setting forth the arguments in favour of the proposed new law. He is seconded and a debate follows in which only the main principles, but no details, are discussed. At the close of the debate the Speaker puts the question and calls for a vote by voices; those in favour say Aye, those against say No. The Opposition may call for a division, when Members go to each side of the House and are counted by Tellers, appointed by the Speaker.* During the Second Reading, a Member of the Opposition may move 'that the Bill be read this day six months,' which means, in effect, that it be not passed. Note that the Second Reading is the most important stage in the making of a law.

The Committee Stage. If the Bill has passed the Second Reading, on another day Parliament 'goes into committee,' that is it becomes a committee. The Speaker retires and the Chair is taken by a Member. Members may speak more than once. The Bill is debated clause by clause and sentence by sentence. Amendments (alterations) are moved, seconded, debated and voted upon one by one. This stage in the making of a law is the longest; at the end of it the Bill may have many small changes in it, though its principles remain the same.

Consideration. Parliament, not in committee, considers the amendments and votes on them. This stage is often a formality but it does provide a check on hasty and ill-considered amendments.

Third Reading. The amended Bill is debated upon in principle; often a Bill will pass the Third Reading without debate.

Royal Assent. The Bill is sent to the Governor who signs it (unless it has to be reserved). The Bill is then an Act of Parliament—a law—and it is published in the Government Gazette. From that moment it becomes part of the Statute Law of the Colony.

Resolutions. Debates in Parliament may also be started by a Member moving a Resolution. For example, the main debate on the Budget takes place when the Minister of Finance moves 'that the House go into Committee of Ways and Means.'

Reservations. Certain kinds of Bill, notably those which would make a difference in the treatment of Europeans and Africans, may not become law until they are approved by the King—in practice, the British government, through the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. There are various ways in which this approval is asked for, but the effect is the same. These slight restrictions on the absolute authority of the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia make the difference between a Self-governing Colony and a Dominion, which is completely master of its own affairs.

*For more details about the conduct of debates, see "Public Meetings," page 236.

ELECTIONS

Election is the means by which the people of the country decide who shall represent them in Parliament. An Election may be a General Election, when a whole new Legislative Assembly is to be elected or a By-Election, when only one Member is to be elected through a seat having fallen vacant.

The country is divided into districts called Constituencies, for each of which there is one Member of Parliament. The people who hope to be elected to Parliament are called candidates; a candidate must be qualified to vote; in addition, he (or she) must not be a civil servant or a bankrupt. Each candidate has to deposit £50 which he loses if he obtains less than one-fifth of the number of votes which the successful candidate obtains. This is to prevent people being candidates unless they have at least a reasonable chance of election. The people who vote for the candidates are called, in the mass, the Electorate; the right to vote is called the franchise. In a democratic country the franchise is something much to be prized, something to be used with care and responsibility and not lightly to be thrown away. It is the means by which government "of the people" is carried on "by the people."

In Southern Rhodesia, in order to have the right to vote, a person must:

- (1) be a British subject;
- (2) be at least twenty-one years old;
- (3) have lived in Southern Rhodesia for not less than six months;
- (4) have lived in one Constituency for not less than three months;
- (5) occupy premises of the value of at least £150,
or
have an income of at least £100 per annum,
or
own a registered mining location.

A person is not allowed to vote:

- (a) if he cannot write;
- (b) if he has been imprisoned with hard labour during the five years previous;
- (c) if he is mad;
- (d) if he has received Government rations or maintenance allowance for a period of a year, unless that year ended at least twelve months before the time of voting.

Note that there is no distinction in the electoral law between men and women or between Europeans and Africans. In practice, the majority of Africans are excluded from the franchise by not being able to fulfil qualification (5) above.

The procedure at an Election is as follows: The Government announces two dates, one for Nomination Day, one for Polling Day. On Nomination Day, the names of candidates must be sent in to the Returning Officer of each constituency. The Returning

Officers are officials appointed to organise the election in each constituency. The nomination of a candidate must be signed by from ten to twenty voters in the constituency for which he hopes to be elected. It is customary for a candidate to be nominated by supporters of a political party and to stand for that party, but there is nothing to prevent a candidate standing for no party as an Independent.

Between Nomination Day and Polling Day each candidate holds meetings and publishes pamphlets, endeavouring to persuade the voters that he is the best of the rival candidates to sit in Parliament and that his party would certainly be the best to provide the Government of the country.

On Polling Day the Returning Officer will have arranged Polling Stations for the voting. Each voter, as he arrives, is checked off on the Roll of Registered Voters* to make sure that he has the right to vote in that particular constituency. He is then handed a Ballot Paper which has on it the names of the candidates, thus:

BLACK William Black of 91 Cleveland Avenue, dental surgeon	
BROWN George Brown of 47 Reid Rowland Square, pensioner	
GREEN Jacob Green of 112 Lawson Avenue, merchant	

The voter then goes to a partitioned-off desk and marks a X opposite one of the names; he folds the paper and slips it into the Ballot Box—a box with a slit in the top. Thus nobody but himself knows for whom he voted.

At the end of Polling Day the Ballot Papers are counted and the candidate who has obtained most votes is declared elected to Parliament. If the voting is very close the defeated candidate may ask that the papers be re-counted. If the result of the voting is a tie, the election is decided by the casting of lots in the presence of a Judge of the High Court. If a defeated candidate thinks there has been any irregularity about the election, he may petition the High Court and, if successful, will be declared elected to Parliament instead of the supposed winner. In certain special circumstances votes may be sent by post.

It is perhaps worth pointing out that when Parliament is dissolved the Government continues in office until the new Government is appointed after the General Election.

*It is the duty of a qualified voter to apply before an election to be placed on the Roll.

The Independence of Members. Although a Member of Parliament represents the voters in a constituency he does not take instructions from them. He is a member of a national assembly, not a delegate to a conference. The great orator, Edmund Burke, said, "... but Parliament is a deliberative assembly of *one* nation with *one* interest—that of the whole, where not local prejudices ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the reason of the whole. You choose a member of Parliament indeed; but when you have chosen him, he is not a member of Bristol, but a member of Parliament."

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

At least once a year the Government makes up its accounts and estimates what money it will need for the coming year. It then puts its Estimates before Parliament and invites Parliament to consent to its raising and spending so much money in specified ways. The Government may not spend or raise money without the consent of Parliament; this is the safeguard against dictatorship and ensures the ultimate power of Parliament.

If, however, Parliament consents, the Government proceeds to raise money in various ways, as follows.—

- (a) Direct Taxes: direct payments to the Government, e.g., Income Tax, Native Tax, Vehicle Tax, Dog Licences, etc.
- (b) Indirect Taxes: taxes which are usually paid by merchants but are passed on to the public in the form of higher prices. The principal indirect taxes are Customs Duties paid on goods imported into the country and Excise Duties paid on certain kinds of goods (e.g., cigarettes) made in the country. Customs Duties may be low and simply for the purpose of raising money or they may be high for the purpose of making foreign goods too expensive and thus protecting local or British manufacturers. Similarly, Excise Duties may be high for the purpose of preventing too great a consumption of something (e.g., spirits).
- (c) State Enterprise: businesses such as the Post Office, Government-owned farms, etc., often make a profit.
- (d) Income from Government property.

The money collected is paid into the Consolidated Revenue Fund from which, with many safeguards, it is drawn by the Departments for their special purposes.

Loans. The Government may also borrow money, especially when large sums are needed for special purposes such as wars, or big development schemes which will increase prosperity but are too expensive to be paid for out of income. Loans to the government may be made in large lump sums but it is also possible for the ordinary citizen to lend money to the Government through

the purchase of Loan Certificates or deposits in the Post Office Savings Bank and to help himself at the same time by saving his money and drawing interest. Interest is paid at different rates; the rates are usually low but there is absolute security and virtually no risk of losing the money altogether. The total sum of money borrowed by the Government is known as the National Debt; it is a very large sum (£74,366,358 in 1949) and it is not intended that it shall ever be paid off completely. Parts of the National Debt are paid off from time to time; this may be done by raising another loan but there is also, for the purpose, a Sinking Fund into which is paid annually a sum equivalent to one per cent of the National Debt. The only restriction on the growth of the National Debt is the ability to pay the interest out of annual income. People who have lent their money to the government can always, in various ways, have it back, provided that they do not all try to recover it at the same time.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

The Public Service is a body of paid officials who carry on the business of government according to the directions received from the Government. Public Servants are permanent and do not change when the Government changes. Public Servants are experts in their particular work. It is the duty of a Cabinet Minister to direct what shall be done, of a Public Servant to do it.

The Public Service is organised in Divisions, each under the ultimate control of a Cabinet Minister who is said to hold the Portfolio of Internal Affairs, Finance, Agriculture, etc. The Public Service head of a Division is generally known as the Secretary for that Division. Within the Divisions are grouped the Departments which carry out their special duties.

The Public Service may be described as a vast machine which puts into effect the wishes of the Government. In its broader sense, it comprises all the people, be they teachers, nurses, policemen, agricultural demonstrators or native messengers, who work for the Government. In its narrower sense it comprises the officials who actually organise the administration both in the government offices in Salisbury and in the offices of Civil Commissioners, Native Commissioners and others throughout the land. It is impossible to describe here the many various activities of the Government through the Public Service, but an examination of them will show exactly on what the Government spends the money which it collects.

THE JUDICIARY

The Judiciary is the branch of government which interprets the laws of the country, that is, decides how they are applied in particular cases. It may deal with *crime*, which is an offence against a law by which the State can punish offenders; it may deal with *civil* cases, which are disputes between individuals or companies

or public bodies, in which the State has no right to punish.

The machinery which the Judiciary uses for its work is the Law Courts. There are the Courts of Appeal, the High Court and the Magistrates' Courts. We will consider these Courts in the order in which the individual usually comes in contact with them, that is, from the lowest to the highest.

The Magistrates' Courts. There is a Magistrate's Court in every town; in addition, Native Commissioners are Magistrates in country districts, with the powers of Assistant Magistrates in the trial of Europeans. Magistrates try all less serious crimes (e.g., small thefts, riding bicycles without lights after dark, trespass, etc.) and they may punish up to the extent of a fine of £50 and/or 6 months' imprisonment or 15 strokes or imprisonment and whipping. If the crime is too serious for such a light punishment the Magistrate conducts a preparatory examination and commits the accused for trial or sentence (if he has pleaded guilty) in the High Court. In these cases the Attorney General, who is the chief official of the Department of Justice, may send the accused back to the Magistrate's Court and may give the Magistrate 'increased jurisdiction' which means that he can punish up to the extent of a fine of £100 or one year's imprisonment or 18 strokes or any two of these except the fine and the strokes.

Note that the Police are not a part of the Judiciary. The Police often prosecute and may carry out the punishment, but they do not judge.

In civil cases the Magistrate can award damages up to £100

The High Court. The headquarters of the High Court are in Salisbury but it may hold its sittings in other places. There is a Chief Justice and three other Judges. People accused of crime are tried by the High Court after they have been committed for trial by a Magistrate. The High Court may impose any sentence, according to the law, up to life imprisonment and death. A criminal trial in the High Court is conducted by one Judge and two Assessors, who advise the Judge. Europeans may, if they choose, be tried by a Judge and Jury. The Jury is composed of nine ordinary citizens chosen from a list and ordered to serve on a Jury. The Jury decides (and they must all agree) whether the accused is guilty or not guilty and, if he is guilty, the Judge imposes the sentence. In the case of a death sentence the Governor himself must decide whether to uphold the sentence, though he hears the views of members of the Executive Council.

Briefly, the procedure at a High Court criminal trial is as follows. The Court is assembled and the accused is brought in. The Registrar reads out the charge (the accusation). The accused is asked whether he pleads 'guilty' or 'not guilty.' If he pleads 'not guilty,' the prosecuting counsel opens the case for the Crown. This means that an advocate, acting on behalf of the State, tries to prove to the Jury that the accused is guilty. After his opening speech he calls witnesses for the prosecution, one by one; these

are people who can give evidence in support of the prosecution; prosecuting counsel *examines* each witness and defending counsel, another advocate acting on behalf of the accused, *cross-examines* each witness. Cross-examination is an attempt to show up the witnesses' faulty memories or lies. When this is finished, defending counsel opens the case for the defence and calls his witnesses who also are examined and cross-examined. He may call the accused as a witness if he is prepared to risk cross-examination. If he does not, the accused takes no active part in the proceedings. Then both counsel make concluding speeches and the Judge sums up the whole case, explaining to the Jury exactly what they have to decide and sometimes directing them what their verdict ought to be. The Jury usually retire to another room to discuss their verdict and when they return the foreman of the Jury tells the Judge whether it is 'guilty' or 'not guilty.' The Judge then pronounces the sentence.

In cases where the accused has pleaded 'guilty' in the Magistrate's Court and has been committed *for sentence*, the Judge usually examines the evidence given in the Magistrate's Court and pronounces sentence, but the accused may ask for evidence to be heard again in the High Court.

The High Court can deal with any civil cases and award any damages. Civil cases involving large sums of money and certain other kinds (e.g., divorce) do not pass through a Magistrate's Court at all.

Appeals. The High Court acts as an appeal court in cases where the accused in a criminal case or the loser in a civil case appeals against the judgment of a Magistrate.

Against a decision of the High Court it is possible to appeal to the Rhodesian Court of Appeal and from that to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa in Bloemfontein or, in civil cases, direct from the High Court to Bloemfontein. Even from Bloemfontein it is possible to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, which is the final court of appeal for the British Commonwealth and Empire, though in Great Britain itself the House of Lords is the final court of appeal.

The Law. Soon after the Occupation of Mashonaland the whole law of the Cape Colony was taken over and applied to Mashonaland. This Cape law owed its origin to the law of Holland, which was really Roman law modified by Dutch custom. Thus the Common Law of Southern Rhodesia is described as Roman-Dutch. The Statute Law of the Cape Colony as it existed on the 10th June, 1891, was also taken over; no statute passed in the Cape after that date had any effect in Southern Rhodesia but the Colony began to legislate for itself; and thus the Statute Law in Southern Rhodesia (as in every country) is continually being changed by Acts of Parliament. Thus, although the original

Statutes of Mashonaland were the Statutes of the Cape Colony, many new Statutes were added and in 1937 the Statute Law of Southern Rhodesia was revised and many of the old laws of the Cape, which had never been appropriate to Southern Rhodesia, were repealed.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE

The British Commonwealth is a group of independent States, having the same King.* As the personal power of the King passed more than two centuries ago to the Cabinet, it follows that each of the Cabinets of these independent states holds this power and it is possible for one King to reign over them all and yet for each to be completely self-governing, even to the extent of declaring itself a republic. Technically, the King, represented by a Governor-General, governs on the advice of his Ministers in each state, e.g., his South African Ministers. It is important to realise that not one of these states has power over any other. They are Great Britain, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, India, and Pakistan; the last seven are called Dominions.

There are many reasons why the Dominions and Great Britain remain in an association: mutual advantages in trade and defence, sentiment, a widespread common language, fairly unrestricted movement of people from one to another, etc.; but there is no compelling force which binds them together. The very lightness of the link is its strength.

The British Empire. The colonial empire is an extraordinary collection of states at every stage of political growth from the humble Crown Colony with a Governor and not even a Legislative Council to the Self-governing Colony with its own Parliament and only the slightest control by the British government. The British colonial empire with its immense variety of races, languages, customs, climates, religions, etc., has this in common: the power of government lies, in the last resort, in London. It is in this respect that the British Commonwealth and the British Empire must be considered apart. But the gap between the two can be crossed; Colonies can become Dominions.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Local government is the government of cities, towns and villages; it is not an absolutely independent kind of government, as it is under the control of the central government of the country and its powers are granted to it by Acts of Parliament. Nevertheless, it is the kind of government which comes into closest contact with the everyday life of the people and, if it is to work properly, it requires the same *responsibility* in all concerned as the central government does.

*It is now possible (1949) for a Republic to remain in association with the Commonwealth, without owing allegiance to the Crown.

In Southern Rhodesia the forms of local government are: Municipal Councils, Town Management Boards and Village Management Boards. A Road Council is also a form of local government for a special purpose.

Municipalities. The Municipalities are Salisbury, Bulawayo, Umtali, Gwelo, Gatooma and Que Que. A Municipality is governed by a Mayor and Councillors. The Councillors are elected by:—

- (1) owners or occupiers of property worth £50 or more within the municipal area;
- (2) the wives or husbands of such.

Municipal electors must not be criminals or lunatics and must be at least 21 years old. They do not have to be British subjects or to be able to write.

Broadly speaking, anyone can stand for election to a Municipal Council provided that he or she:

- (a) Owns or occupies property within the municipal area worth at least £20 p.a.; or—
- (b) Is the wife or husband of such owner or occupier;
- (c) Is neither bankrupt, criminal nor mad;
- (d) Is a British subject;
- (e) Is not a Civil Servant;
- (f) Is not employed by a Municipality;
- (g) Is not financially interested in any contract with the Municipality, with certain exceptions.

Municipal elections are held once a year; at each election one-third of the Councillors go out of office but may be re-elected. The method of holding elections is like that used in Parliamentary elections except that each voter has as many votes as there are Councillors to be elected. Municipalities may or may not be divided into Wards which are sections each represented by a certain number of Councillors. The Mayor is elected by the Councillors from among themselves and holds office for one year.

The Municipal Council makes bye-laws for the good government of the town and it controls the many public services with which a town is supplied. Just as the central government carries on its work through the Civil Service so, too, the Municipal Council gives the orders and the work is carried out by a staff of permanent officials headed by the Town Clerk.

The business of law-making in a Municipal Council is much simpler than in Parliament. A proposed new bye-law is moved and seconded, debated and voted upon; in the event of a tie the Mayor has a casting vote. The Municipal electorate has a direct share in the making of bye-laws because proposed new bye-laws have to be advertised and the ratepayers can object. Then the proposed bye-law is submitted to the Governor in Council. Much detailed municipal business is done by committees of Councillors appointed for special purposes. The Council may give executive

powers to its Committees but does not give executive powers to its officials.

Revenue. The Municipal Council has power to raise money for carrying on its many services to the public. The money may be raised by:

- Rates,
- Licences,
- Rents,
- Profits from trading undertakings,
- Fees for special services.

The rates are really direct taxes levied by the Council; they are levied on the value of property and usually the owner of the property pays them. They may be levied several times a year. All property is valued at intervals and a rate is levied at so much in each pound of the value. There is a limit to the rate (4d. in the pound) and ratepayers have a chance to protest if they think the rate is too high. The total value, for rating purposes, of the property in a town is described as the rateable value of the town. Certain kinds of property are not rateable, e.g., Government buildings and land, churches, schools, libraries, museums, hospitals, etc. There are also special rates levied for special purposes, e.g., sewerage.

The Municipal Council spends money on and makes bye-laws for an enormous variety of things from aerodromes to cemeteries, water supply to buses, abattoirs to sports grounds.

Borrowing. Municipal Councils have the power to borrow money for special purposes but if the amount borrowed is greater than one-sixth of the rateable value of the municipality, permission to borrow must be asked of the Governor in Council.

Generally speaking, we may say that Municipal Councils have wide powers within the framework of the Municipal Act, subject to protests by ratepayers and the ultimate control of the central government.

Town Management Boards. Town Management Boards govern the smaller towns, e.g., Fort Victoria, Enkeldoorn, Highlands. They are in many ways like Municipal Councils, but their powers are less and they are under closer control of the central government. The Board consists of three or six members, of whom one is elected Chairman by his colleagues. The members of the Board are elected by owners and occupiers of property within the town who have much the same qualifications as Municipal electors. Similarly, candidates for election to a Town Management Board must be qualified electors and occupy or own property within the town worth at least £100. But they may be civil servants and need not be British subjects. Procedure at elections and at meetings of a Town Management Board is like that in a Municipality. Town Management Boards have rating powers and they control many public services and make regulations in the same way as a Municipal Council. Town Management Boards may borrow money for

certain purposes, but only after a meeting of voters has consented and the Governor in Council has approved. Also, regulations made by a Town Management Board have to be submitted to the Governor in Council who may disallow them.

Village Management Boards. These are the humblest local authorities. There are no elections; the members are appointed by the Governor in Council for the purpose of carrying out rules made by the Governor in Council. For certain purposes (e.g., water and electricity supply, sanitary services and native housing) the householders in a village may ask the Governor in Council to give the Village Management Board authority to borrow money to provide such services.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

Almost everybody belongs to some Association, Club or Society, be it a Rugby Club, a Dramatic Society, a professional association, or what you will. Societies are usually self-governing and it is in such that citizens can learn the art of self-government. The principle of 'responsibility holds good; every member of a self-governing Society is responsible for its government; conversely, the 'Government' of a Society, usually an Executive Committee or Council, is responsible to the members for the good government and efficient carrying on of the purposes of the Society.

The details of the administration of a Society vary considerably but there is one thing that nearly all have in common. That is the General Meeting when all members gather together to receive the report of the Executive Committee, to hold elections, to pass resolutions and, generally, to take their share in the government of the Society.

If they are to make any progress at all, meetings of this sort must be conducted in an orderly manner: there are, therefore, certain customary rules which everybody should know. These rules are sometimes relaxed, of course, but normally they apply to General Meetings of Societies and special public meetings called for particular purposes. Meetings of committees more or less follow the same rules, but they are commonly less strictly applied.

A meeting is conducted by a Chairman whose business it is to see that the discussion is orderly and fair. No-one may speak without the permission of the Chairman and all speeches are addressed to the Chair, that is, the speaker begins his speech with the words, "Mr. Chairman (Madam Chair)," Meetings decide things by resolutions (also called motions or proposals). No general discussion may take place until a resolution has been *moved* by one person, *seconded* by another and then *proposed* by the Chairman. After discussion the Chairman must '*put* the question,' the people vote on it and it is decided. For example, a meeting is being held to consider the starting of a Sports Club. The Chairman states shortly the purpose of the meeting and calls

for resolutions. Mr. A rises and moves "That in the opinion of this meeting a Sports Club should be formed for the men and women of the town, the Club to provide facilities for rugby, cricket, bowls and basket-ball." The mover makes a speech about his resolution and sits down. Mr. B rises and says, "I second the motion"; he may also make a speech about it. The Chairman then says, "The question I have to *propose* is a motion by Mr. A, seconded by Mr. B, "that in the opinion of this meeting, etc. . . ." The motion is now open to discussion and members of the meeting may speak, one at a time and addressing the Chair, not each other. Members do not speak more than once unless there are amendments or unless the Chairman gives them special permission. Finally, the mover of the resolution replies with another speech and the Chairman *puts* the question, saying, "I proceed to put the question. The question is 'That in the opinion of this meeting a Sports Club, etc. . . . Those in favour please show.' Those in favour raise their hands and are counted. "Those against please show." Those against raise their hands and are counted. "The motion is carried (or defeated) by *x* votes to *y* (or *nem. con.*)." The show of hands is not the only way of voting on a motion, but it is the most usual one.

Amendments. Amendments are changes in a resolution proposed during the discussion on that resolution. It is essential that the original motion be written down, especially if it is lengthy, so that there is no doubt of the original words. Amendments are moved and seconded, proposed and put in the same way as resolutions and should be in exact terms, that is, they should refer to the words of the original resolution.

There are two ways in which a Chairman may deal with amendments:—

1. He may allow discussion on each amendment as it is moved; then he *puts* the amendments one by one to the meeting *at the end of the whole discussion on the resolution*; then he puts the resolution, as amended, to the meeting.
2. He may take each amendment separately, allow it to be discussed and then *put* it to the meeting before going on to another.

The second way is less likely to lead to confusion and it keeps the discussion closely to the point, but it prevents amendments being moved to an earlier part of the motion. The first way is the practice in the Rhodesian Parliament in debating resolutions and there is much to be said for following Parliamentary procedure; but it may lead to confused discussion and uncertainty about what exactly is being discussed at any given moment. If the Chairman is using this method, he usually puts the amendments to the meeting in the order in which they come in the wording of the resolution, but he may, if he sees good reason, put them in the reverse order. Needless to say, if an amendment is carried and it makes later

amendments impossible, the later amendments fall away. It is possible to move an amendment to an amendment, in which case the Chairman will naturally put the 'amendment-to-the-amendment' before he puts the amendment.

To illustrate the procedure on amendments, take the resolution above on the forming of a Sports Club. While the resolution is being discussed, Mr. C moves an amendment that the words 'and women' be omitted; he is seconded and a heated discussion takes place. If the Chairman is using the second way of taking amendments he *puts* the amendment to the meeting and takes a vote on it. In the same way he deals with Mr. E's amendment that the word 'tennis' be inserted after the word 'bowls,' and Mr. F's amendment that the word 'rugby' be omitted and the words 'association football' be substituted for it. If he is using the first way of putting amendments, he will wait until all the discussion is finished and then put the amendments one by one in the order in which they occur in the original resolution. Finally, he puts the whole resolution including those amendments which have been carried. So, the resolution put before the meeting in the end might read: 'That in the opinion of this meeting a Sports Club should be formed for the men and women of the town, the Club to provide facilities for association football, cricket, bowls, tennis and basketball.'

When an amendment proposes that words should be *omitted*, the Chairman puts the question in the reverse way. In the above case, he would read the terms of the motion and then say, "I put the question: That the words 'and women,' proposed to be omitted, stand part of the motion. Those in favour of *retaining* the words 'and women' please show," etc. In the case of the amendment that the word 'tennis' be inserted, he would put it directly, "I put the question: That the word 'tennis' be added," etc.

The Minutes. The Minutes of a meeting are the record of proceedings, written by the Secretary. They are always read by the Secretary at the next meeting; the Chairman then asks the meeting, "Is it your wish that I sign these Minutes as correct?" If it is agreed that they are correct, members raise their hands; if a member thinks that they are incorrect he may move that certain words be crossed out and other words written in their place.

EXERCISES

It is probable that this chapter will be found more suitable for reference than for solid study and that the practical application of the rules and customs of self-government will be of much greater value than the mere learning of them.

The following suggestions are made:

1. Visits to Parliament, Local Council and Board meetings, the High Court and Magistrates' Courts. In all cases

- previous consultation with officials and study of agenda are desirable.
2. Investigation into and study of the ways in which central and local government touch the lives of people.
 3. The application of the procedure of self-government to as wide a range as possible of school activities.
 4. The setting up of School Parliaments, Municipal Councils, Town Management Boards, etc.; the holding of mock trials, Parliamentary and local elections and ordinary public meetings.
 5. Close instruction in and practice of public meeting procedure.
 6. The construction of charts showing the chain of political power.
 7. Tracing in a dramatised way the course of a law from its beginning in the mind of a civil servant or Minister to the punishment of the first offender against it.
 8. Visits to public enterprises such as electricity and water undertakings, aerodromes, sewage disposal plants, etc.
 9. Discussion of the *actual* differences between Europeans and other races in their contacts with government.
 10. Consideration of the spread of the actual powers of self-government over a wider field than the European population, with special reference to the Parliamentary history of the Cape Colony and the Union of South Africa.
 11. Compilation of a glossary of the numerous technical terms used in the chapter.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

Bassett—The Essentials of Parliamentary Democracy.
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